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# *The Shape of Things*

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WHILE THE DESTINY OF EUROPE MAY NOT have been finally decided, as some correspondents have suggested, by the Anglo-French negotiations early this week, those talks will undoubtedly affect the reorientation of British foreign policy which appears to be under way. After years in which Britain has staked its existence on its alliance with France, the influential clique which has urged an alignment with Germany appears to be gaining the upper hand. Despite sensational press headlines, such developments are not likely to move rapidly. Officially, the Anglo-French entente will remain unaffected. There will be no immediate agreement between Britain and Germany. Instead, an attempt will be made to conciliate Hitler on the assumption that it is cheaper to buy him off than fight a major war. In practical terms this means that Germany must either be given a chance to expand in Central Europe or a return of its colonies or both. Fortified by a series of diplomatic victories in the last three years and by its alliance with Italy and Japan, Nazi Germany is not interested in minor concessions. And it is doubtful whether the demand for colonies, in view of their very dubious economic value, is more than a bargaining point. As Hitler definitely pointed out in "Mein Kampf," Germany's immediate ambitions lie in Czechoslovakia, Austria, and the Ukraine. In order to gain a free hand in this area, and the tacit support of Great Britain in any war which might result, Hitler appears to have assured Lord Halifax that Germany will at least postpone its colonial demands.

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JUST WHAT CONCESSIONS MAY BE OFFERED to Hitler as a bribe to keep peace in Western Europe is still a matter of rumor and speculation as we go to press. French suggestions of a redistribution of colonies seem to have been received coolly by Britain, while France has made it clear that changes in Central or Eastern Europe are unthinkable. Nor is it likely that Britain would approve drastic concessions in that region. It might, however, fall in with Hitler's proposal that full autonomy should be granted to the German section of Czechoslovakia, in which case the Nazis would encounter no great difficulty in taking the final step. Nothing is likely to be done about Austria as long as Mussolini's friendship is considered important by either Britain or

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Germany, but the British Tories may be expected to support Hitler in his immediate objective, which is the destruction of the Franco-Soviet alliance. Alarmed lest Chamberlain bring pressure in this direction, the Soviet Union has threatened to call for a special session of the League to invoke sanctions against Japan, a development which would be most embarrassing to Britain. While the Chamberlain government is unlikely to be turned aside by anything that Russia might do, Chautemps is in a very different situation. It is inconceivable that France, in order to conciliate the pro-fascist clique that now dominates British policy, will voluntarily surrender the support both of Soviet Russia, with its powerful army and air force, and of the Little Entente, which until now has been the keystone of French strength in Europe.

*

THE DRAMA OF PUBLIC-HOUSING POLITICS introduced in our last issue is growing more and more involved. Last week's act was depressing. The New York City Housing Authority showed an unexpected lack of independence, and Chairman Post, after accepting Housing Administrator Straus's invitation to an important conference of local authorities at Washington, reneged at the last minute under pressure of Mayor LaGuardia. The Mayor's natural persuasiveness was backed in this case by complete control over Mr. Post's official career. The Authority's counsel, Charles Abrams, however, did attend the Straus conference, resigning in order to do so. But his resignation was another defeat for the Authority, which has lost the services of one of the country's ablest housing minds. Meanwhile, the drive on Mr. Straus—which Mayor LaGuardia's attack brought into the open—gained momentum in Washington. Senator Thomas made it known on November 26 that he had been asked to call a meeting of the Senate Labor Committee to consider a protest against Mr. Straus's confirmation; but for reasons we should like to hear he refused to name the protestants or the charges against the new Administrator. All of which confirms the opinions we expressed last week. Housing authorities, both national and local, should be kept out of politics. And Mr. Straus should be given more than merely a fighting chance to prove his qualifications for the office.

*

IF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE FARM BILL, AS reported out by the Senate, were really understood, there would be an outcry from conservative circles far greater than that which followed the President's program for reconstructing the Supreme Court. For what Mr. Roosevelt was proposing in the court bill was merely a shift in the political composition of the court comparable to that which has occurred a number of times in the past. The farm bill, on the other hand, is the entering wedge for a change which can only end in the elimination of laissez faire capitalism. Production of our major crops—wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, and rice—is to be put into a strait-jacket with respect to both price and quantity. The emergency controls which have been enforced in several different ways during the last four years are to be incorporated into our permanent agricultural policy. Thus America's greatest and most individualistic enterprise—the production of basic farm commodities—is to be brought into a fixed, arbitrary relationship with industry and maintained in that relationship regardless of the interplay of normal economic forces. That this same type of control is fully as justified and necessary in other fields of economic life is a discovery that cannot long be postponed. For changes in technique or exceptional economic disturbances are bound to react with redoubled violence on the uncontrolled phases of our national economy. To us the trend toward national economic planning seems inescapable. But we must marvel at the facility with which old-line politicians, if they happen to be from agricultural states, are hastening to support a bill which permanently eliminates the possibility of returning to the world of their childhood, for which they displayed such unmistakable nostalgia three months ago.

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"FOR HE'S A LOUSY GOODFELLOW!" IS THE theme song of the 250 Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* strikers, whose morale remains high after ten weeks on the picket line. M. Preston Goodfellow, publisher of the *Eagle* and the hero of the song, has already lost far more money through reduced advertising and circulation than it would have cost him to pay the wages the Newspaper Guild demanded—which suggests that he has embarked on an anti-union crusade that the American Newspaper Publishers would warmly approve. As we go to press, the New York State Mediation Board has called a public hearing at which the strikers and the management will be represented. It is just possible that Mr. Goodfellow will reveal an understanding that the workers and consumers of Brooklyn who have given the strike their support are or were readers of the *Eagle* and patrons of the stores that advertise in its columns. . . . Jersey City, the Hague-spot of New Jersey, has just put on another field day in which civil liberties and C. I. O. organizers were the victims. An attempt to distribute circulars was broken up by Hague's police; the circulars were confiscated; some of the distributors were escorted to the city limits by plain-clothes men who refused to show any proof of their authority; others are under arrest. Recently in Edgewater, a Ford stronghold in New Jersey, an ordinance which prohibited the circulation of leaflets without permission was declared unconstitutional by Justice Joseph L. Bodine of the New Jersey Supreme Court. The Jersey City ordinance is even more drastic, and therefore more clearly unconstitutional, than the Edgewater ordinance. The suppressed circulars advertised a meeting devoted to workers' rights to be held Friday evening in Jersey City. It is overdue. . . . In Detroit Judge Lester S. Moll dismissed one of the cases against the eight Ford employees who last spring beat up organizers of the United Automobile Workers. The case was dismissed for lack of evidence. Apparently the news reports of the hearing before the National Labor Relations Board in Detroit last summer and the vivid photographs

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of the affair which appeared in *Time* were all a typographical error. One thing at least is clear. Mr. Ford in this case had a friend at court.

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STRANGE THINGS APPEAR TO BE GOING ON in the French Republic. In the welter of plot and counter-plot three more or less distinct threads are discernible. One is the manifesto of the Duke of Guise, announcing his intention to "reconquer" the non-existent throne of France for the Bourbons as King Jean III. Second are the revelations in the suit of Colonel de la Rocque that André Tardieu as Premier of France used secret government funds to bribe the fascist Croix de Feu. And finally there is the frustrated plot of the Cagoulards, the Hooded Ones, to stage a coup d'état with the idea of establishing a dictatorship, which in turn would pave the way for a restoration of the monarchy. Individually none of these developments appears to involve a genuine threat to the republic. No one takes Jean III seriously; the De la Rocque affair serves only to blacken both the Colonel and the corrupt government that preceded the Popular Front; and the Cagoulards would seem to be less than bright in looking to the Bourbons as the ultimate hope in a country that contains 50,000 royalists—something less than the number of Communists in the United States. Taken altogether, however, these weird fishing expeditions would seem to proclaim troubled waters, and in that perhaps lies their chief significance. No one, apparently, knows what is due to happen next in France, with the result that every crackpot in the country thinks his hour has struck. Nevertheless, the government, while issuing assurances of the republic's safety, is treating the plots with the utmost seriousness, and in doing so it is both shrewd and wise. Shrewd because the plots of extreme reaction can be made to serve as a cement for a loosening Popular Front; wise because vigilance against fascism is such a coalition government's only justification for existence.

*

IT IS GOOD TO SEE AMERICANS AWAKENING to the despicable attacks on Jews throughout the world. The protest of two hundred American scholars, headed by Alvin Johnson, calling on their colleagues in Polish universities to stand firm against the ghetto-bench decrees for Jewish students should, along with similar statements by English and French educators, exert great moral force. The trouble is that the protests are addressed to groups that have been thus far impervious to moral considerations. The recent emergency conference in Washington of the American Jewish Congress was valuable in bringing into the open the extent and strength of anti-Semitic movements. The administrative committee's report was sound in its assertion that "anti-Semitism is the first step of all movements dedicated to the destruction of democracy." But what follows? Legal regulations are insufficient where a government has decided to evade them. The report points out that the clauses in post-war constitutions and treaties guaranteeing equal rights to the Jews have been reduced to a dead letter in Poland, Rumania, Danzig, Austria, and other states which have followed the pattern of the Nazi "Aryan paragraph," and that the drive against Jews is designed to bring about not only their political but their economic disfranchisement and their complete reduction to a ghetto status. Jews and non-Jews everywhere must understand that this is not a question that concerns one group alone—that the danger to Jews is a danger also to labor and to democracy everywhere. It threatens the world's cultural heritage and the entire range of freedom for the human mind that has thus far been achieved. The fight must ultimately be made by liberal, labor, and democratic forces, willing not only to protest but to organize behind their protest their massed political and economic strength.

# *The Herald Tribune's "Friends of Cuba"*

FURTHER inquiry reveals that the New York *Herald Tribune's* celebration of Cuba and its dictatorship, which appeared as Section XII of the Sunday issue of November 21, was as cynical a piece of journalism as was ever perpetrated by a reputable newspaper. At the office of the *Herald Tribune* it was freely admitted that the special section, which appeared as an integral part of the paper, was advertising paid for at regular rates. The postal law explicitly provides that all matter that is paid for shall be plainly marked "advertisement." Such evasive legends as "This section, devoted to the Government and Industry of Cuba, is written and presented by the Friends of Cuba" do not fulfil this requirement. Yet the *Herald Tribune,* presumably aware of the law, flouted it. The penalty for such a violation is a fine of not less than fifty nor more than five hundred dollars. It would seem then that the profits would far exceed any punishment that might ensue from a violation. Moreover, first offenses usually bring no more than a warning, and the Post Office Department seldom indulges in publicity in such cases. Even if the *Herald Tribune* were required to print a statement admitting the mislabeling of Section XII, the effect of the statement, published many days after the event, in counteracting forty-eight pages of glowing text and pictures would be exactly nil.

In a word, the *Herald Tribune* has got away with the publication of paid propaganda at a nice profit. The money that swelled its advertising revenue came out of the hide of an oppressed nation, whose oppression was glorified in Section XII. We are not concerned for the moment with the use, presumably unauthorized, of photographs of President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, and Secretary Roper in connection with paid advertising, although such use, aside from other considerations, would seem to constitute a clear violation of the civil-rights law. We are concerned with the broader implications. The

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incident is fairly typical of current journalistic ethics. It is a sign of the extent to which totalitarian morals and methods have penetrated public life, and indicates the tools that a fascist regime in this country would find ready to hand. It demands thorough investigation by the State Department.

We have heard that Lawrence de Besault arranged the whole affair in Cuba and is "well known" to the State Department; it is rumored that similar blurbs "selling" other Latin American dictators to the American public are under way. Something more than a private warning from the Post Office Department seems to be in order. We feel that this Latin American affair should be handled by Secretary Hull, not by Sumner Welles.

# *Program for Congress*

CONGRESS is being asked to revise and repeal all manner of New Deal legislation in the interests of "business confidence." In that way, Congressmen are told, they will build a bridge once more between business and government. This, we gather, is to be the true Administration honeymoon with business, so frequently initiated, so often interrupted and postponed. But to think that a belated honeymoon will solve the problem of the business recession is to proceed on the theory that the problem is only a psychological one. There has been, we are told by Dorothy Thompson, a little misunderstanding between husband and wife, and each is waiting at the telephone for the other to call. One can only be dismayed at the thinness of such an interpretation. Is the problem, in reality, only a surface emotional one? Is it merely that business is nursing its bruised feelings, which have only to be assuaged by Administration reassurances? If this is true, then there is nothing intrinsically wrong with the industrial situation itself.

Our own analysis is quite different. The problem of the business recession is not wholly psychological. There is a lesion in the capitalist economy caused by its maldistribution of income. This lesion grows rather than heals. It is the province of the New Deal to meet it with increasingly heroic remedies. The Administration's course so far has been in the right direction, despite its mistakes in detail and its lack of an adequate personnel. It has involved large governmental spending, increase of mass purchasing power, and redistribution of income through a tax program and a strengthened labor movement. It is significant that when the Administration, confident that recovery had come, eased up on its spending, faltered in its pressure for a real housing program, and returned to an emphasis on budget-balancing, a downward turn followed. Other factors were undoubtedly at work. Prices and profits had increased more rapidly than wage rates, and purchasing power was further reduced by the social-security pay-roll tax. Business sought to improve its strategic position by large-scale sabotage in capital investment and replacement. But the government's role cannot be ignored.

The restoration of "business confidence" is certainly indispensable on any agenda for the immediate future. But as a psychological item, that is beyond the control of Congress. Business confidence, in the last analysis, is neither to be coerced nor wooed. The best thing that Congress can do is to turn itself, as has often been suggested, into a real "deliberative assembly," and pursue whatever course is best for the commonwealth without stopping to woo anyone.

What should such a program include? Our suggestions are as follows:

1. *Housing program.* The President's message on stimulating private building is satisfactory as far as it goes. But if we may judge by past experience in this field, the houses which he declares to be necessary are not going to be built by private industry. This is particularly true as long as the buying power of potential housing consumers is kept at a low level by the recession in general business activity. If houses are to be built, the government will have to do the job, which means that the proposed expenditures under the Wagner Housing Act will have to be greatly increased and the act revised so as to do away with the restrictions which have hampered the entire program.

2. *Government spending.* In addition to increased housing funds and the subsidies in the farm bill, Congress must be prepared to grant a supplementary appropriation for the WPA, in order to allow for the increased load of unemployment it will have to carry this winter.

3. *Tax revision.* Any program of tax revision should leave the capital-gains tax alone. It should revise the undistributed-profits tax by establishing a $10,000 ceiling below which any corporation, large or small, may be allowed to build up an untaxed surplus in any one year. If corporate tax revision involves a revenue loss, it should be made up by increased income taxes in the middle and upper brackets.

4. *Wage-hour bill.* This must be rescued from the Rules Committee and put to a vote. We prefer an independent commission to administration by the Department of Labor. But the essential thing is to get some sort of good bill through. If one had been passed last summer, the effect on purchasing power would already have been felt.

5. *Farm bill.* It is difficult, before the provisions of the various farm measures have been exposed to debate, to pass detailed judgment on them. The essential and perennial problem involved is an economic one—to maintain the farmers' purchasing power with the minimum restriction of production.

6. *Planning of resources.* The Administration's program for establishing seven regional authorities to plan and develop power resources should be pushed. Reduction of utility rates will increase consumption; it will mean new plant investment; and it will mean higher real wages for each family affected.

7. *Control of monopoly.* Congress has the duty of making clear both to the Attorney General and the Fed-

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eral Trade Commission that the Administration must proceed vigorously to curb or break up those monopolies which are raising living costs. If Congress is really actuated by a concern for the small business man and the consumer, there can be no two opinions on this question.

If the philosophy of the New Deal was ever valid, it is valid today. If it is valid today, the above must represent the main lines of Congressional action.

# *Is China Beaten?*

THE past fortnight has been an anxious one for the millions of Americans who have been hoping against hope that China would be able to hold off the Japanese invaders until winter put a stop to hostilities. After nearly three months of unexpectedly stubborn resistance at Shanghai, the Chinese southern front appears to have all but collapsed. Although the Japanese are still many miles from Nanking, the loss of Wusih and Huchow may have sealed the fate of the capital. If a stand was to have been made, the short Wusih-Kiangyin line offered by far the best possibilities of defense. The capture of the important walled city of Huchow makes possible a detour around Lake Tai in case the Chinese defense holds along the Yangtze.

Nor is the situation particularly promising in the north. The Japanese claim that the fall of Tsinan, the capital of Shantung, is a matter of hours. Since the loss of Taiyuan there has been little evidence of resistance from the regular Shansi provisional troops. Having occupied the greater part of the five northern provinces to which they laid immediate claim, the Japanese are pressing for an early peace. While Chiang Kai-shek himself has shown no sign of capitulation, there has been renewed activity on the part of the pro-fascist elements which have consistently supported Japan's ambitions from within the Nanking government. It is known that this clique came within an ace of persuading Chiang to accept Hitler as a mediator. Failing in this, they have succeeded in stirring up internal dissension among the war lords and are urging an acceptance of Japan's terms.

While the situation is admittedly grave, it is not hopeless. In evaluating the day-to-day military reports, it is important to remember that since the capture of Shanghai practically all our news has come through the Japanese censorship. Occasional stories are still received from Nanking, but all the better-known correspondents are either in Shanghai or Peiping. The taking over of the telegraph and cable services in Shanghai means that even Nanking messages must pass through Japanese hands. No information is reaching this country from behind the Chinese lines in the north, and virtually none regarding the guerrilla activities of the former Communist troops comprising the Eighth Route Army. With this in mind, it is possible to derive a certain negative satisfaction from the lack of specific news from a number of the main fronts. At Tsinan, for example, the Japanese have claimed for nearly two weeks that they were on the verge of occupying the city, yet as far as we know they have not yet succeeded in crossing the Yellow River. The same is true farther to the west along the Honan border, where the Japanese have not been able to cross the river and cut the strategic Lunghai railway, which parallels the Chinese front for several hundred miles.

Even greater reassurance may be found in the few brief dispatches that have chronicled the activities of the Eighth Route Army. Details are almost wholly lacking, but it is apparent that units of this army have penetrated into widely scattered parts of Shansi and Hopei, where they have succeeded in organizing and arming the local peasants for guerrilla activities against the Japanese. A number of small Japanese detachments are reported to have been surrounded and annihilated, and a considerable supply of arms captured. The Peiping-Hankow railroad has been cut at a number of points, and a large portion of northern Shansi is said to be in the hands of the former Communist troops. Encouragement may also be derived from apparently trustworthy reports that small numbers of first-class Soviet fighting planes have been recently delivered at Lanchow after a perilous trip across Sinkiang, and that sixty modern British planes have arrived in Hongkong. A rehabilitation of China's air force would do more than anything else to restore morale and military effectiveness. Despite heavy losses, China still has an abundance of trained men and an adequate supply of small arms and ammunition.

The most acute problems before China, then, would seem to be political rather than military or economic. Internally, China is menaced not only by the machinations of the pro-fascist clique that would sell out rather than see the country come increasingly under the influence of the Soviet Union, but also by the age-old disposition of the Chinese to compromise when in a tight spot. While it is doubtful whether Chiang could retain power if he wished to capitulate to Japan, there is definite danger of a fascist coup supported by Japan. The chances are, however, that Chiang can hold out if he obtains a reasonable amount of support from abroad. Prospects of this are admittedly dark. The collapse of the Brussels conference indicates that the democratic powers are unwilling to assume the slightest risk to protect their interests in the Far East. There is even danger that they might bring pressure on China to accept a peace on Japan's terms.

Little is heard these days about Japan's economic situation, but the strain is undoubtedly severe. The task of supporting an expeditionary force of more than half a million men through the winter may be more than the Japanese economy can bear. In any event Japan can ill afford to keep its entire reserve force under arms during the spring planting when the labor of every man will be needed at home. It will take time before the unofficial boycott now under way in Great Britain, France, the United States, Mexico, and other countries becomes fully effective. But if Chiang can resist the temptation to compromise and if he gives his attention to the development of guerrilla tactics better calculated to harass the Japanese, a real possibility still remains that Japan will crumple before China is completely crushed.

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# *Tax Cabal in Congress*

BY ROBERT S. ALLEN

THREE weeks of labor by the special session of Congress have brought forth a remarkable phenomenon. The President's four-point program—farm legislation, wage-hour regulation, government reorganization, and the "little TVA's" bill—is not much nearer enactment today than when the session convened. But in full tide is a furious push to relieve speculators and big business of taxes and to saddle the burden on consumers and lower-bracket incomes.

That is the real aim behind the hullabaloo for immediate revision of the capital-gains and undistributed-profits taxes. The reactionary press and business elements clamoring for such action know full well that Roosevelt and Congress are prepared to modify these taxes. But they know also that if the changes are made as part of a carefully considered general overhauling of the entire tax structure, their chances to do murder will be materially reduced. The Administration proposes to revise the two taxes only in the interest of small business. Its object is to remove proved inequalities and hardships but to retain in full force the sound fundamentals of the taxes. The reactionary cabal is not interested in such an effort. It weeps glycerin tears for the little business man and orates sonorously about its desire to help him. But that is just play-acting to cover up its true purpose. It is out to repeal the two taxes completely as of January 1, 1937, and to replace them with a sales tax. Senator Josiah Bailey, North Carolina tory, frankly admitted this in an exchange on the Senate floor with Senator Borah. Of course he prefaced his statement with pious disclaimers of any enthusiasm for a sales tax. But these protestations fooled no one. Bailey is notorious as one of the most sanctimonious reactionaries on Capitol Hill. He always invokes God, the flag, and mother when pulling off an axing job. No sooner did he reveal his purpose than other Old Guard hacks joined the chorus, among them Senator Walter George of Georgia, a member of the powerful Senate Finance Committee, Representative Bertrand Snell of New York, Republican floor leader, and New York's ineffable and irrepressible Senator Royal ("Carnation") Copeland.

The antics of the tax revisionists have been wondrous to behold. Not in a long time has the capital witnessed such remarkable exhibitions of inconsistency, demagoguery, and distortions of news and facts. At his press conference last Friday the President, in response to a trick question, replied that he wanted Congress to act on tax legislation as soon as it was ready to do so. With pointed irony he added that he had no desire to fly in the face of editorial opinion, which is constantly yammering about undigested measures being rushed through by a "rubber stamp" Congress. The obvious import of his remarks was that he was opposed to "shotgun" action on the capital-gains and undistributed-profits taxes. Yet two hours later the ultra-reactionary and extremely wealthy Washington *Star* appeared on the streets with a banner headline reading, "Roosevelt Seeks Tax Revision Now." The caption was an absolute misstatement of fact, and the story beneath it showed it up as such. But there it was in big type, a characteristic illustration of the kind of tactics being employed on a nation-wide scale in this fight.

After stalling around for a week Representative John O'Connor, Tammany's gift to the Rules Committee, took the floor of the House to announce that he had been unable to get his committee to release the long-stymied wage-hour bill. Then in the same breath with which he proclaimed this blow at labor, O'Connor demanded immediate tax legislation to "restore confidence to business." When later he was asked why, if he was so ardent a supporter of the wage-hour measure, he did not sign the discharge petition, O'Connor retorted, "I never vote to fire myself." And Senator Burton K. Wheeler, roaring into Washington two weeks after the session had convened, heralded his return and further confirmed his desertion of the liberal cause by issuing a newspaper blast demanding that the Administration "reassure the people that it is not seeking to destroy business." The Montanan had done his bit to promote confidence during the Congressional recess by defending a disbarred California race-horse owner and making speeches under the aegis of Colonel Frank Knox denouncing the President as a dictator.

There is little doubt that if the Senate had a free hand it would wipe out or riddle the two taxes in short order. But fortunately it does not have the initiative in the matter. That is a House prerogative—and there the President for the time being holds the whip hand. He owes his control to the fact that the chairman of the Ways and Means subcommittee that is formulating the new tax bill is Representative Fred M. Vinson, an able, enlightened Kentuckian who, besides knowing what the tax issue is all about, has just been appointed to a life job on the United States Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. Vinson sees no reason for haste in revising taxes. He is in complete accord with Roosevelt that modification of the capital-gains and profits taxes should be limited to relief for small business and that even such changes should not be retroactive. Finally, he is militantly opposed to the sales tax. In his strategic position as chairman Vinson can make his views stick. And being aggressive and forceful he is leaving no doubt that he intends to do just that. In the face of the uproar for immediate action he announced calmly that it would be several

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weeks before his committee would be ready to report to the full committee and that after that public hearings would be held before the full committee began its secret deliberations on the measure. It was unlikely, he added, that a bill would be sent to the House before January 15. What the nature of this measure will be it is still too early to say. It is certain, however, that it will be a general tax bill and not confined merely to capital gains and profits. This will make it difficult to single them out for special amputation. Unquestionably that will be attempted, particularly in the Senate Finance Committee, which is probably the most reactionary band of high-binders on Capitol Hill. But the longer action is delayed the better are the chances to beat off the tory attack. After the first of the year the shadow of the spring primaries will begin to loom over Congress, and more than one of the yowlers for vigorous knife wielding will pipe down or sound a different tune.

# *Pogroms or Partition*

BY PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

IN 1926 I spent four months in Palestine. This year I returned for a visit of three months. The changes which I noted convinced me of the necessity of partitioning Palestine. For in my earlier visit I traveled freely and without fear throughout the entire country. I visited Arabs in their homes, slept in their inns, even thumbed rides on their horses. I encountered nothing but courtesy and friendliness. There was some anti-Jewish feeling, but it was not widespread or intense or spontaneous. It was artificially fomented for the most part by self-seeking effendi. I remember one peasant asking whether it was true, as his landlord had told him, that the Jews under Einstein had designs on the mosque of Omar. It happened that he was working several months of the year for a Jewish farmer in Hedera and earning five times what he had previously received from the effendi. He had no grievance against the Jews, and therefore his feudal exploiter attempted to play upon his religious fanaticism. On the whole it seemed then that the benefits the Jews were bringing to the Arabs in the form of higher wages, improved living conditions, universal education, and the elimination of disease would ultimately form the basis for a peaceful life together.

I return from Palestine now with the melancholy conviction that this was an illusion; that, realistically viewed, the present aims of Jews and Arabs are irreconcilable. This time, too, I passed through Arab villages but always in haste and fear. Not once but scores of times Arab boys hurled stones at us and joined their elders in shouting the vilest epithets. In an Arab school near Jerusalem American Christian teachers told me that only by the sternest measures could they keep their pupils from mass attacks on Jews, and I am far from certain that they were altogether successful.

Anti-Zionist and anti-British sentiment has penetrated into every element of the Arab population. Not only the self-seeking, the unscrupulous, the professional agitators, but the rank and file, the youth, the idealistic are opposed to further Jewish immigration and land purchase. This is true certainly of all who are articulate. Undoubtedly there are considerable numbers of Arabs who are content and who would not willingly raise a hand against the Jews. But they dare not speak. For under the prevailing terror even moderation, publicly expressed, is an invitation to murder. I know educated Arabs who have gladly surrendered the security of government office for the insecurity of revolt. In the last two years Jews have seen their best friends among the Arabs, their business associates, their well-paid employees turn against them out of principle, or through fear, or for money. They learned to their sorrow in 1936 that little instigation was needed to change Arabs from gracious neighbors to savage enemies. Once the Arabs realized that violence works and that every pogrom evoked not the stiffening of British policy but further compromise and capitulation, the murder of Jews became a national policy. This hatred of Zionism and the British has grown to such proportions, has become so intense, so articulate, so widespread, and so well organized, that it is the fundamental factor in the situation.

Faced with such deadly hostility, Jews who had come to Palestine with the friendliest feeling toward the Arabs inevitably turned in bitterness against them. Today, although Jews are never the aggressors against the Arabs, they distrust and detest them, and are prepared to fight back with a vengeance. I repeat, lest I be misunderstood, that there is a fundamental difference between the conduct of Jews and of Arabs. Although Jews cannot walk in safety through any Arab town, Arabs can enter Jewish villages without fear of attack. In Tel Aviv I lived on Hayarkon Street, which is the main thoroughfare to the Arab city of Jaffa. Every day caravans of camels laden with sand and stones passed our door driven by nonchalant Arabs who knew that although a Jew riding through Jaffa would probably get a knife in his back they were perfectly safe in Tel Aviv.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the Jews now reciprocate the feelings of the Arabs. Children in the Jewish schools are developing a militant chauvinism. Since the plan for the new Jewish state was announced, the greatest ambition of many youngsters has been to join the Jewish army that will be formed. On the streets and playgrounds one sees drilling and games and exercises designed to develop a military discipline. The Jewish

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colonies are well armed; the men are trained for defense. Armed guards patrol the fields day and night, and even children's picnics which I attended were guarded by police with loaded rifles. The new colonies are built like stockades with thick walls to keep out bullets. Every village has its high tower with tremendous light projectors which search for prowlers at night and flash signals to nearby colonies. The Valley of Esdraelon, which the Jews have transformed from a swampy wilderness to a fertile garden, is a scene of peaceful beauty during the day, but at night it is like a battlefield, with armed men on guard everywhere and great lights flashing their signals back and forth to announce "all quiet" or to warn of impending attack.

Many factors have combined to make Palestine an armed camp. Some responsibility attaches to the Jews for introducing modern nationalism into a country which before the war was not a nation but only the southern end of Syria. Its ignorant and impoverished natives were conscious only of being oppressed subjects of Turkey. Zionism undoubtedly helped to make them politically conscious. Moreover, as the Jews raised the Arab standard of living; as they stimulated and supported universal education for Arab children; as their land purchases enabled Arab effendi to send their sons to universities in other Moslem countries, where nationalism was intense; as an increasing part of the tax moneys, raised largely from Jews, was given by the government to the Grand Mufti, presumably for religious and charitable purposes but actually to be spent for propaganda and arms against the Jews, Jews were actually contributing to the processes which ultimately made for their own defeat. It is not the weak but the strong who make revolutions, and the Jews have made the Arabs strong.

British weakness contributed further to Arab strength. I am not one of those who believe that Great Britain deliberately sabotaged the Jewish national home. But there is plenty of evidence to support that contention. The supineness of British officials in the face of Arab agitation and attacks, the lack of a clear-cut policy, the failure actively to promote friendly Arab-Jewish relations were certainly no fulfilment of the promise to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Why did Britain not establish a firm, definite policy? The answer, in my opinion, is that it found itself faced with what it believed were insuperable obstacles in the conflicting aims of Arabs and Jews. Whether they really were insuperable or not is now beside the point. At present the only relevant fact is that the British government, supported by a public opinion sick of bloodshed and fearful of war, anxious about the other Moslems in the empire, frightened by the rising menace of the fascist nations and their new threats to its life lines, adopted a policy of compromise and vacillation toward Arab agitators which was rightly interpreted as weakness and defeatism. As murders were rewarded with concessions, they rapidly became pogroms.

The intransigent Arab minority was strengthened, too, by the rise of nationalism throughout the Near East. As Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt were granted independence and autonomy, the Palestinian Arabs began to feel that they had been cheated. The fact that they were better off economically than their cousins in nearby lands, that their literacy rate was higher and their death rate lower, did not impress them. They simply did not want to be overrun or ruled by foreigners. They wanted to be free and autonomous like the other Arabs.

In such ambitions they have received encouragement and aid from Italy. Mussolini's treatment of the Libyans and the Ethiopians hardly qualifies him as a friend of the Moslems, but politics dictates strange alliances. In his determination to dominate the Mediterranean Il Duce could not overlook so obvious an opportunity to harass the British. From the Italian radio station at Bari comes incitement to rebellion, and from the Italian treasury come funds to arm the rebels. No one knows how much has been spent or how, but everyone knows that a handful of poor Arabs in Palestine were equipped with sufficient rifles, bombs, and machine-guns to keep several battalions of British troops at bay for months. It is a mistake, however, to think that the Italians are primarily responsible for the trouble in Palestine. The Arabs are responsible, though they have received help from outsiders.

Thus far the Jews have displayed a remarkable restraint. They have refrained from organized retaliation because they do not want sporadic riots to become open warfare. They want the world to understand that it is not war but pogroms that are occurring in Palestine. But they are prepared. They have the means with which to resist and retaliate. The Arabs respect their strength and never openly attack Jewish colonies. They limit themselves to ambushing unarmed Jews, burning hospitals and forests, bombing buses and babies' homes. On the few occasions when raiding parties have been discovered by Jews, they have been so thoroughly beaten that the Arabs have never returned to the attack.

Obviously this state of affairs is intolerable. Any situation in which domestic peace must rest on foreign bayonets and the building of a home on superiority in bombs is morally indefensible as well as precarious. The British have become sick of it. After the riots of 1936 they appointed a royal commission to study the problem and to recommend a solution. The commission proposed a clear-cut solution—the partition of Palestine. By the terms of its plan about two-thirds of the country, lying chiefly in the east and south, is to be given to the Arabs and to be attached to the kingdom of Trans-Jordan. A narrow strip along the coast, the Valley of Esdraelon, and the land around Galilee, a territory about the size of Delaware, is assigned to the Jews for an autonomous state. The British retain a narrow corridor from Jerusalem to the sea, also Bethlehem and Nazareth, ostensibly to protect the holy places. They also keep a temporary protectorate—which may very well continue indefinitely—over several large cities, notably Haifa, which is the western outlet of the Iraq oil line and is rapidly becoming one of the great ports of the Mediterranean. And they hold on to Akaba, which is destined

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to become the eastern terminus of a canal that the British plan to build parallel to the Suez.

What does this proposal mean to the three groups involved? Obviously the British have protected their imperial interests. They have surrendered nothing but their burdens. However valuable the extra foothold in the Near East which the Palestine mandate gave to Britain, its administration was a thankless task. It yielded little beyond the ill-will of Jews and Arabs. I believe the British would wash their hands of any further responsibility if they could. But they dare not face the loss of prestige in the East and the indignation of world Jewry and liberal opinion generally.

For the Jews the partition of Palestine is a major catastrophe. Since the Balfour Declaration was issued in 1917, they have needed not less land but more. The post-war nationalistic reaction and economic depression have intensified anti-Semitism everywhere. The tragedy of German Jewry has been most publicized because it was most unexpected. Actually the plight of Polish Jews is infinitely worse. There are more of them, nearly ten times as many. And they are much poorer than the German Jews. The Polish Jewry is being ground to dust and nothing can be done to prevent it. The situation of the 900,000 Jews in Rumania is becoming nearly as terrible. And as the tragedy of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe deepens, the doors to the West are more firmly closed against them. Only a negligible number of Jews are permitted to enter the Western democracies, and the German refugees who found asylum in England and France are still not granted labor certificates. They are allowed to enter but denied the means of earning a livelihood.

The only land which opened its doors wide to the Jews, accepting more of them than all the other countries of the world combined, was Palestine. But Palestine in 1923 was reduced to one-third of its original size when Trans-Jordan was given to Emir Abdullah as a separate Arab kingdom. And now the remaining fragment is to be split into three, leaving for the Jews a tiny portion. Not only is the Jewish territory small but it contains 225,000 Arabs. If they remain, they limit still further the possibility of Jewish immigration and land purchase. If they are to be moved, it will be costly in money and ill-will. The Jews will now have to supply and finance all the agencies of government, including an army and police. They are also expected to contribute substantial sums annually to the support of the Arab state on the curious ground that the Arabs have become accustomed to Jewish subsidies and would be lost without them. Customs and trade barriers as well as zigzag frontiers and corridors, costly and difficult to patrol, will separate the states. The royal commission proposes that Jerusalem be included in the British territory, not the Jewish. This is a cruel and unwarranted blow, for 70,000 of its 110,000 inhabitants are Jews. The magnificent Jewish Agency building, which is the capitol of Jewish Palestine, the Hebrew University, and a whole network of hospitals, schools, and libraries are located there. The Jews have created the beauty and the prosperity of the new Jerusalem, and they should be permitted to retain it in a Jewish state under international guaranties which will safeguard the holy places of other religions. To put the Deganias, the oldest and most successful of the Jewish agricultural collectives, in the Arab state is another indefensible recommendation of the commission's.

For all the faults in the partition plan, the Jews must accept it. British opinion is strongly behind it. The Mandates Commission and the Council of the League of Nations have indicated their approval. No other nation is sufficiently concerned to interpose an objection. The Arabs will not permit a continuance of the present mandate. The fate of Palestine, at least until another major upheaval, seems to be settled.

However, the prospect is not as dark as it might seem. Dr. Weizmann, the head of the world Zionist organization, believes that two million Jews can be settled in the new Jewish state. Even if this estimate proves too generous, the intensification of agriculture and the development of industry and commerce will certainly enable at least one million to find homes there. Since in twenty years the Zionists have settled only one-third of a million Jews in Palestine, the prospect at its worst presents a task to challenge the generosity, the statesmanship, and the creative energies of the Jews for at least a generation. What will happen after that is in the lap of the gods. Perhaps after a period of peace the Arabs may be ready to sell to the Jews large areas of undeveloped territory, or, through events now impossible to foresee, the pressure against the Jews in Europe may be eased. In the meantime there is work to be done, and Jews will be free to do it under conditions more conducive to success than British rule affords. Jews will be able to regulate immigration and land purchase and to develop their economic life unhampered. At least they will be in a position to show the world what a Jewish state based on Jewish prophetic ideals can be.

The Arabs, for their part, will do well to accept the partition plan, as their best friends advise them. It gives them all the land which under existing conditions they could hope for. True, the Jews are granted some of the more fertile sections of the country. But the Arabs must not forget that these, too, were barren until the Jews made them fertile. Responsible Arabs will also recognize that the Jews are in Palestine to stay and that any plan which involves their elimination is doomed to failure. Not only fear of consequences in the way of much firmer British control but also enlightened self-interest should bring the new Arab leaders to make their peace with Britain and the Jews. For the Arab masses are sick of strikes and riots. They have suffered most during all the trouble. Tens of thousands have been reduced to destitution. The last strike ruined the city of Jaffa. Its shops are empty and its workers are unemployed. In my opinion, the Arab masses are ready to accept any plan that promises peace in Palestine and releases them from the fear of Jewish domination, particularly now that their intransigent and terroristic leadership has been eliminated. At the moment the only such plan that has any chance of success is partition.

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# *Japan and Philippine Independence*

BY JAMES S. ALLEN

OPENING the present session of the Philippine National Assembly early this fall, President Manuel L. Quezon proposed that the independence of the islands be advanced from 1946 to 1938 or 1939. When Quezon first announced his new program during a recent visit to the United States, his position on independence came as a surprise, and in the face of Japan's new offensive in the Far East his stand remains unintelligible unless related to the significant turn that Philippine politics have taken.

Crystallization of political ideas and programs and an alignment of forces with respect to Japan are the features of the present scene in the Philippines. A new "opposition"—or rather, a gathering of oppositions—has emerged to challenge President Quezon's Nationalist Party in the December provincial elections. The new political group, although it contains a number of discordant elements which must in the near future bring about still another realignment, is already powerful enough to command respect. It was principally this development that impelled Quezon to make his independence proposal.

The *Pagkakaisa ng Bayan*—which, translated literally from the Tagalog, means "Unity of the People"—has been referred to since its formation in September, 1936, as the Popular Front. Although it does bear some points of resemblance to the coalition in Spain, the Popular Front of the Philippines resulted from a basically different alignment of forces. The resemblance lies in the fact that the minority parties were compelled to seek some form of unity against the dictatorial measures of the Quezon administration during its first year. The inclusion of a pro-Japanese group, interested principally in creating opposition *per se*, has raised many obstacles to the development of a clear and constructive program, but, for all that, the majority of participating parties have given the coalition an essentially democratic, anti-clerical, and anti-imperialist tendency.

Leaders of three of the component parties of the Popular Front are veterans of the revolution against Spain and the United States. General Emilio Aguinaldo, who heads the National Socialists, is the honored hero of the Philippine revolution. Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, leader of the Republican Party, was vicar-general of Aguinaldo's revolutionary army and chief of the guerrilla forces in his mountain province. Pedro Abad Santos, head of the Socialist Party, was among the last to surrender to the American command and narrowly escaped death by court martial. These leaders and their followers are still bitter over American occupation and retain a strong distrust of American methods. Faced with the depredations of Japanese imperialism, they still find it difficult to make what appears to be a necessary revision of their attitude toward the United States. The Communist Party, which is included in the Popular Front, insists that the traditional nationalist view of the independence problem must now be revised, while Sakdalista leaders, for the present still friendly to Japan's pan-Asiatic program, preach the doctrine that Japan would make a far better master than the United States. To understand the present fluid political scene it is necessary to know something of the recent history of these minority leaders and parties.

After a long period of political retirement General Aguinaldo emerged in 1935 to carry on a vigorous campaign against Quezon for the Presidency under the new Commonwealth government. He received 180,000 votes as against the 690,000 votes which elected Quezon. The National Socialist Party, which was organized to support Aguinaldo's candidacy, is neither fascist nor socialist. It has a nationalist reform program which includes the demand for independence within a few years, reform in the civil service, minimum-wage laws and unemployment relief, and sale of the large landed estates on easy terms to the tenants. Even those skeptical persons who recall unsavory incidents in the General's past and think that he "has served his country sufficiently" are willing to forget the past if he remains loyal to the united front.

At the age of seventy-six Bishop Aglipay is one of the most vital and picturesque figures in Philippine public life. Four years ago he set out for the first time to see the world, traversed Europe and the United States, and returned with a renewed faith in his democratic, nationalist, and anti-Catholic principles. He is the high priest of the Philippine Independent Church, which was born in the revolution against the powerful propertied friars. The census of 1918 gave his church 1,500,000 followers; today he claims 4,000,000. Like Aguinaldo, the bishop withdrew from active political life after the victory of the American forces, not to appear again in the political arena until 1935. He revived the Republican Party, which had been dormant for a quarter of a century, and aligned it with the Socialists and Communists in the "Coalition of the Oppressed Masses." As the Presidential candidate of the new coalition, Aglipay stood upon a platform which held it "vital to organize a union of the small parties which are against the present leadership of Quezon." Its planks included "an independence which will make us all happy," tax relief for the poor, civil rights, labor legislation, and nationalization of the haciendas. About 150,000 votes were officially recorded for the venerable bishop.

Aglipay is the backbone of an indigenous militant liberalism. He has fought for authentic separation of church and state, freedom of assemblage, equality for

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women, trial by jury, an independent judiciary, and universal suffrage. When the fascist uprising occurred in Spain he offered the services of 100,000 Filipino volunteers to President Azaña. His office, he told me, "is full of spontaneous offers from youths, and even from women, who want to fight for the triumph of republican legality in Spain."

Apparently the most influential but also the most imponderable of the minority parties is the Sakdalista, which emerged as a political entity in 1933 and has had a rapid and stormy growth. This party places all its emphasis on one point, "immediate, complete, and absolute independence." It campaigned against both conditional independence bills, urged a boycott of the plebiscite on the constitution, and has in other ways obstructed the Commonwealth government, in which it sees the hand of American imperialism. On all other problems of the Philippines the directorate of the party is as indefinite as is the term *sakdal,* which generally means "complaint," "denunciation," or "accusation," but may also mean "perfection." To all queries as to how the party proposes to solve the pressing internal and international problems of the Islands, Sakdalist leaders have a stock reply: "Independence right now! Then we will solve our other problems."

The poverty of the Sakdalist program, which has created difficulties among the Popular Front adherents, may be traced in part to the fact that the real head of the organization, Benigno R. Ramos, is self-exiled in Japan. The belief that Ramos is an instrument of Japanese imperialism is substantiated by statements that have appeared in *Sakdal,* his publication in the Philippines. "The Occident for the Occidentals and the Orient for the Orientals" is a recurrent refrain in that newspaper, in which Ramos recently concluded a fervent apology for Japan's campaign of conquest in Asia with the admonition: "Beware, you Asiatic man—the mad dogs of the whites are on the rampage. Whichever gets you—capitalism or communism—you get the rabies and are lost to the coming glory of the Pan-Asiatic Union." And in an appeal to the Japanese people Ramos asked: "Can Japan be indifferent to the appeals and request of the Sakdalistas in behalf of the whole Philippines? . . . The Filipino people alone cannot compel America to honor her promise [of independence], but if Japan will intervene, as the legitimate leader of the Far Eastern people, America will be obliged to change her mind and attitude."

Sakdalism as a social phenomenon has more significant implications than the pan-Asiaticism of its leaders. The peasantry supplies the mass support of Sakdalism; for them independence means primarily freedom from the hacienderos, the caciques, the usurers, and the constabulary. In an agrarian economy which retains a feudal-colonial structure and where there exist no channels for the democratic expression of the peasants' grievances, insurrectionary tendencies are strong. This has long been a characteristic of the Philippine peasant movement, and it is this tendency which the Sakdalistas seek to encourage. Like the Tangulans before them, they have been nurturing among the Filipino peasants reliance upon Japan to furnish arms and supplies should they once start a revolt against the United States. It is true that the "Japanese ship" failed to arrive at the time of the Tangulan insurrection of 1931 and likewise in the Sakdal-led rebellion of 1935; but the Sakdalistas like to recall that Japan did send supplies and officers during the revolution of 1898.

To organize and give constructive direction to the peasantry, to save it from fatal illusions about Japan, are the major tasks of the Popular Front. Clear-headed leaders are hoping to solve these problems through provincial and municipal Popular Front organizations which unite the local peasant societies with the town workers and middle classes in support of a democratic program.

A stronger labor movement in the cities would exert a stabilizing and directing influence upon the peasantry. Unfortunately, the trade unions have been unable to build effectively on the narrow industrial base available. Many labor organizations exist, but few are really trade unions, and these few have been splintered into several separate federations. An attempt is now being made to create one central federation of trade unions and to unite the numerous small bodies in the same industry.

The limitations of the trade-union movement have necessarily affected the character of the Socialist and Communist parties of the Philippines. The Socialist Party was organized in 1933 by its present leader, Pedro Abad Santos, an advocate for many years of the united front. Its entire strength is practically in the home province of Mr. Santos, where it has a large following among the peasants, though it also enjoys some influence in other parts of the country, especially among the intellectuals of Manila. The Communist Party was founded in 1930 by Crisanto Evangelista, one of the outstanding labor leaders of the country, and has come to enjoy considerable influence among the industrial workers and the peasants. Since the imprisonment and banishment of the Communist leaders in 1933, the party has been considered illegal and until this year could function only as an underground organization. The conditional amnesty of last January included Evangelista and other Communists, but the party is still hampered and restricted by the strenuous sedition law. Nevertheless, it has been able to play an important role in the organization of the Popular Front.

It is only a year since the first conference of the Popular Front. During that year President Quezon has had to make important concessions in the direction of democracy, such as amnesty for scores of political prisoners, support of a campaign against landlord-dominated courts, steps toward the purchase of a number of friar-owned haciendas, and, most important of all, the announcement that the provincial elections, which he had arbitrarily postponed, would be held in December. His recent visit to the United States and his talks with President Cárdenas of Mexico have undoubtedly left their mark. Although he is still far from being a Roosevelt or a Cárdenas in his political philosophy, he has shown that he is susceptible of being moved in that direction. And if he is moving away from his pro-fascist and cleri-

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cal support and turning in the direction of a democratic goal, that is largely due to the Popular Front.

Quezon's proposal for advancing the day of independence is likewise a concession to popular sentiment. The opposition to him has rested in large measure upon his acceptance of the ten-year transition period prior to independence. In adopting his new attitude, the President's chief motive is undoubtedly to take the wind out of the sails of the Popular Front before the next elections. Nevertheless, he has committed himself to a program of reform. Notwithstanding Quezon's recent feeler on dominion status, the pressure of events in the Far East may force some form of cooperation between the Popular Front and the government party as the most significant outcome of the December elections.

On his side Quezon has taken steps to assure Nationalist Party cohesion. The two factions, led respectively by Quezon and Vice-President Osmena, have now been fused into a united party. This fusion is significant because on the one hand it marks the passing of the old issues and the old groupings within the ruling party and on the other it reveals the strength of the Popular Front. For its part the Popular Front has been able to overcome differences among its component parties to the extent of entering candidates for provincial and municipal offices. A number of Popular Front electoral successes will go a long way toward breaking the single-party control of the country and will place the democratic forces in a better position to force some very essential reforms.

Regardless of the outcome of the elections, the dominant issue at this time is bound to be Japan. In so far as the elections accelerate the regrouping of political parties and factions they have important bearings upon this key issue. In this connection certain developments in the Popular Front parties portend a revision of the traditional independence thesis. While independence still remains the key plank of the coalition, the conviction that Japan and not the United States is now the chief obstacle to independence is beginning to gain ground. Japan's seizure of Pratas Reef, midway between Hongkong and Manila, its maneuvers at Hainan Island between Hongkong and Singapore, the strengthening of its position at Formosa, north of the Philippines, by the penetration of Fukien province in China, its presence on the mandated islands to the east, its successful penetration of the Dutch East Indies to the south—all these developments presage the isolation of the Philippines by Japan. In this situation Filipinos are turning to the United States as a matter of self-preservation.

Even the most adamant opponents of President Quezon are now friendly toward his independence program, including, as it does, his proposals for continued commercial and political collaboration with the United States. A number of Popular Front leaders have also revised their attitude toward his national-defense program, which had been the main butt of their criticism. They now favor a strong national defense, even with American aid, though they insist that the army must not be used against the people and that its fascist-minded officers be curbed. They are seeking some form of collective security for the peoples of the Far East which will at the same time assure the Philippines of autonomy and protection.

# *Why You Pay More for Food*

BY RUTH BRINDZE

WHEN the price of meat began to skyrocket this fall, it was obvious that the packers would name God and the farmers as the scapegoats. Over a long period of years the packers have never lacked for an excuse to justify high prices, and this time they were providentially blessed. The drought, they said, caused the scarcity, which in turn led to the higher prices. Half-truths frequently make the most persuasive stories. The drought did in fact create a scarcity, but only in the two top grades of beef, which are fattened on corn. On the strength of this scarcity the packers have been able to raise the price of all grades of beef.

For those who were not completely convinced by the drought alibi the packers had a second story. The farmers, they said, were receiving higher prices for their stock. This also was true. But the packers failed to mention that the spread between the price to the farmer and the retail price of beef was greater in October, 1937, than it had ever been before. Each pound of beef sold in a retail store represents 2.16 pounds of cattle on the range. In October the farmer received 15½ cents for those 2.16 pounds, an increase of 2½ cents over the 1936 average price; the consumer paid 35.1 cents, an increase of 6.3 cents over the 1936 average. The cost of bringing the meat to the retail customer was 19.6 cents a pound, probably the greatest margin in the history of meat distribution.

Certainly neither the drought nor high farm prices can account for this increase in processing and handling charges, but for this also the packers have a ready-made explanation based upon another impressive half-truth. Last summer, they point out, there was a general rise in wages throughout the industry. Their own figures show, however, that the increased labor cost amounts to only .23 cents a pound. All other costs, including freight, being static, the inference is inescapable that the increased margin is largely increased profit.

The situation in the meat industry is significant because it typifies the economic pattern that obtains today in all the food industries. The recent rise in the price of milk to New York consumers is just one more instance

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of the increasing share of the consumer's dollar that is being taken by the processors and distributors. As the result of a farmers' strike the distributors granted milk producers an increase of 28 cents on 100 pounds of milk, that is, on 47 quarts, but the price to the consumers was increased by one cent a quart. In other words, the distributors collected 47 cents to cover the 28-cent increase granted the farmers. In New York City milk distributors now take 8.4 cents as their share of the retail price and allow the producers 5.6 cents. When the State Milk Control Act was in force, consumers paid 13 cents for a quart of Grade B milk, of which 6.2 cents went to the farmer and 6.8 cents to the distributors.

What is the source of the power that enables the processors and distributors to control farm prices on the one hand, consumer prices on the other? President Roosevelt a few days ago asked just that question, and in requesting an immediate investigation of monopolistic practices, he suggested the one answer which is consistent with all the evidence now available.

Two years ago the Federal Trade Commission was directed by Congress to report on agricultural income. The purpose of the investigation was not to discover why consumer prices were high or how they were fixed, but to reveal the reason for the dwindling income of the farmers. In the process, however, significant data on the monopolistic control of the food industries were brought out. The commission's report is an extremely valuable document, and it is unfortunate that it is not now available to the public. Although it was submitted to Congress in the spring of 1937, only the first two chapters have been printed, and the body of the report still remains in typewritten form. Through all the food industries—milk, meat, and bread—the report makes clear, the same process is repeated: small competitors are bought out or forced out and the big distributors are merged until control has been concentrated in a few hands.

Most brazen in the extent to which it has carried monopolistic practices is the meat-packing industry, which is controlled by four companies—Swift, Armour, Cudahy, and Wilson. In one year the first three companies sold 55.5 per cent of the beef produced in the country and 83.8 per cent of the veal. Swift was in the dominant position, controlling 25.1 per cent of the total production of beef, 37.2 per cent of veal, and 17.1 per cent of cured pork products.

In the meat industry legislation and legal action have proved ineffective as a means of control. The packers have increased their holdings despite the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which was placed on the statute books in 1890 for the express purpose of restraining monopoly in their industry, and they have continued to have their own sweet way despite every subsequent effort to break the meat trust. Last August the Secretary of Agriculture issued a complaint against the big four and three of their subsidiaries. The old charges were repeated—that the packers had combined to manipulate and control prices. It is astonishing that the action was given so little publicity. During the meat strike in New York, when demands were made for a federal investigation, there seemed to be no recognition of the fact that the Secretary of Agriculture had already served a complaint.

The brazenness with which the packers have disregarded government curbs is best exemplified by Swift's continued ownership of the powerful canning company of Libby, McNeill, and Libby. In accordance with the terms of a decree handed down in 1920, the packers were to dispose of their interests in companies dealing in unrelated food products. Yet Swift and Company is listed in "Poor's Industrials" for 1937 as the owner of this company, which distributes everything from pickles to salmon.

The control of the packers extends also to the dairy industry. Two corporations, National Dairy Products and Borden, occupy the dominant position in the distribution of fluid milk, but the butter and cheese business is shared with the packers. In 1934 National Dairy sold 32.15 per cent of all cheese produced; Armour was second with 15.94 per cent; Swift third with 14.83 per cent; Borden fourth with 9.26 per cent. Swift sold 7.54 per cent of the butter supply; National Dairy only 5.06 per cent. In the cheese market we have a clear picture of how easily a product can be controlled by a few dominant corporations. The price at which cheese is to sell throughout the United States is determined at the weekly meetings of the Wisconsin Cheese Exchange. The formalities of a competitive market are observed. The auctioneer even says, "Going, going, gone," but the members arrive only ten or fifteen minutes before the repetition of the traditional formula and, according to the Federal Trade Commission, are already on the way out by the time the auctioneer is mouthing his stock phrase. Who should make the bids, and how much those bids should be, is apparently determined in advance by a few companies.

Concentration of control in the fluid-milk and cream business is not so great as in the other divisions of the dairy industry. Fluid milk is not a product that lends itself to centralized distribution. But in communities where National Dairy and Borden operate they manage to have a virtual monopoly. In New York City these two companies control 70 per cent of the retail business; in Baltimore the Fairfield Western Maryland Dairy, a subsidiary of National Dairy Products, handled in a single year approximately 55 per cent of the total sales to consumers. During the last twenty years National Dairy and Borden have developed their fluid-milk business by acquiring hundreds of distributors, through stock purchases and otherwise. In carrying out their program, they often buy not only the largest distributor in a city but also his closest competitor.

The same pattern has been followed by the big bakery corporations. Despite technological improvements, bread still remains a product which must be produced locally. The three big corporations—General Baking Company, Ward Baking Company, and Continental Baking Company—have therefore increased their total business by the acquisition of independent bakeries. The extent to which competition has been further eliminated in the industry by trade associations is indicated by the following note, which appeared last winter in the trade press:

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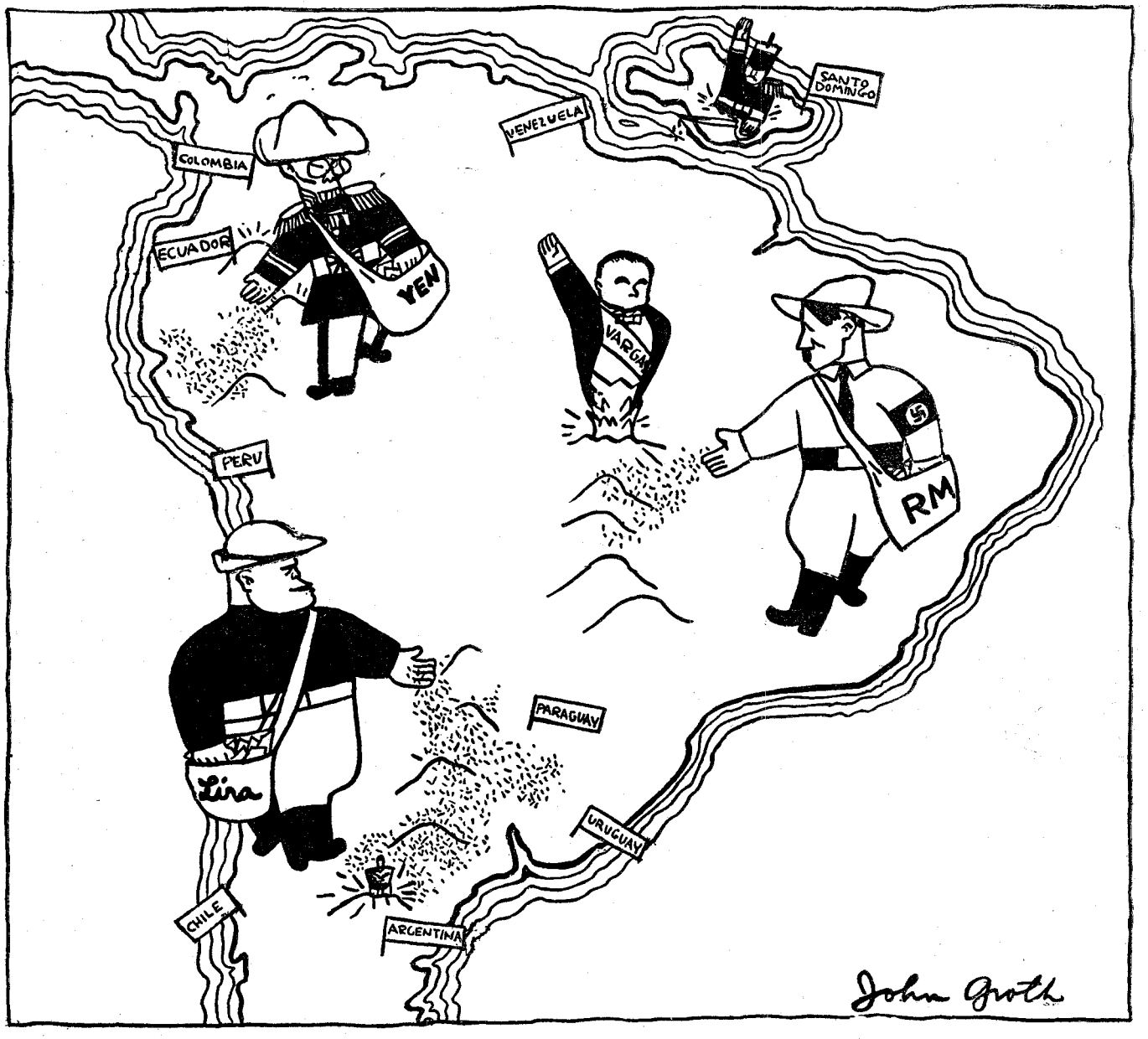
The Associated Bakers of California revised wholesale prices of bread and rolls upward on February 21, with higher prices on hearth bread effective March 1. Wholesale bakers are not to solicit the trade of competitors for thirty days and in the case of hearth bread not for sixty days. Prices for pies, cakes, cookies, doughnuts, and coffee cakes are being adjusted but have not been definitely settled. Retail bakers have made a general raise of 15 per cent on all their products.

How much the present monopolistic system of distribution costs consumers cannot be estimated. Official figures give only a vague indication of the costs in specific industries. The two biggest milk distributors in Baltimore, one of them a subsidiary of National Dairy Products, reported in 1935 the comparatively modest net profit of 7.78 per cent on invested capital. But after the Federal Trade Commission's accounts had reduced capital to tangible assets used in the milk business, the companies' profits for the year reached the more impressive total of 19.27 per cent. Company reports on profits must always be carefully examined. In reporting profits to the Department of Agriculture Swift and Company showed an inventory price decline as an expense. In its report for the same year to the SEC it omitted this "expense." The difference amounted to the little sum of $6,500,000.

In response to the President's request the FTC will undoubtedly develop more material on the monopolistic control of food. The method of dealing with these powerful corporations is one of the gravest problems before the country, and the solution is not necessarily more antitrust laws. A generation of experience with legislative and judicial control has proved them ineffective. Perhaps we shall have to recognize the existence of the food trusts and then control them as public utilities. The consumer should not be required to pay the cost both of monopoly and of a sham competition.

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# Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

THE news that Samuel Seabury has determined to bring proportional representation and a proposal for a one-chamber state legislature before the New York State constitutional convention which meets early next year is extremely gratifying. Not that I am quite convinced that proportional representation in a state is desirable, but that may be due to my ignorance. At least it is a matter for discussion. In the past these constitutional conventions have usually been in the hands of ultra-conservatives under the leadership of men of the type of Elihu Root. Now the opportunity is before the state to make some really radical advances. Mr. Seabury's name will lend great prestige to any suggestion that he may offer. One of the notable happenings in the mayoralty campaign was the enthusiasm with which he was greeted when he appeared at meetings. The crowds gave him more applause than they gave to Mayor LaGuardia. When he was not present and his name was mentioned, there was an instantaneous response. Apparently the New York City public had not forgotten his great services.

For many years I have been observing events in Albany, and during the twenty-one years that I conducted a daily newspaper I wrote constantly about the shadow-boxing that went on at the state capitol. For years it has seemed perfectly preposterous that the alignment in our state legislatures should be on the basis of the national parties. It is rare indeed that a legislature has to deal with national questions except to express an opinion, if the majority pleases, on some national policy or other. Of course legislatures must vote on amendments to the federal Constitution, and lately the participation of the states in the benefits of the social-security law has depended upon their passing corresponding acts. But in the main the issues that come before the state legislatures are purely domestic or related to economic policy, such as the preservation of natural resources and the utilization of water powers that have not already passed into private ownership. These are not matters to be decided according to the national Republican or national Democratic platform. They are questions of state housekeeping and management to be voted on according to their merits and not along national party lines.

The two-house state legislature was beautifully planned to aid grafters and corruptionists. Thus in Albany for generations "strike," or blackmailing, bills would appear in one house and usually go through that body. Then when they came up in the other the politicians would go around to the interests threatened and get their price for killing it. One such measure in the old days was a bill compelling the ferry companies in New York harbor to put toilets on their boats. Year after year this bill appeared with the regularity of the seasons, only to be killed at the last moment, that is, when the ferry companies finally "coughed up." The great advantage of a one-chamber legislature will be that it will be possible to focus the light of publicity upon a much smaller group, one chosen, perhaps, without party designation. It may even be something of a return to the old colonial idea of a governor's council. This does not mean an abandonment of democracy, for the election of the senators—if they are to be called such—will be just as democratic as the choice of senators and assemblymen today. It does mean that the ridiculously large legislature at Albany will be cut down to an efficient working body, not at all concerned, it is to be hoped, with keeping up party fences and preparing for Congressional or Presidential elections, but really free to concentrate upon state-wide issues. If proportional representation should also be established, it would at least have the merit of permitting men and women to seek nominations without having to go, hat in one hand and a substantial campaign check in the other, to a party boss in order to obtain a place upon a ticket.

It is of course obvious that no single-chamber legislature will of itself usher in the millennium. The only precedent we have is what has taken place during 1937 in the Nebraska legislature, and as yet no full summary of that has appeared, though it is reported that two studies are being made with a view to early publication. It was a great disappointment that, despite the influence of its creator, Senator Norris, this chamber voted against the child-labor amendment to the Constitution. But after all, an unbossed legislature has the right to make up its mind for itself, and reformers, after having forged a new piece of machinery, cannot complain if it does not do just what they desire. At least it has been a simple matter in Nebraska to follow what the legislature has done; any citizen interested in the vote on the referendum or any other measure would have no difficulty in finding out how each legislator voted. It is to be hoped that Nebraska will speedily prove that pure partisanship can be eliminated under the one-chamber system, and corruption, too, to the maximum extent.

What other changes the New York constitutional convention will consider we shall soon see—the initiative and referendum, let us also hope. This time, I venture to say, proposals which seemed like wild radicalism a few years ago will receive careful attention. In all the hurly-burly and confusion and discouragements of today it remains true, as New York City proves in a hundred different ways, that we are progressing toward a better and more efficient and more responsive democratic machinery.

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# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## THE AMERICAN IDES OF MARCH

BY ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

IT IS one of the principal miseries of the modern world that the presuppositions have turned into prejudgments and that the whole of God's acre is ankle deep with rigid iron ruts. The writer who attempts to maneuver freely in that field is continually being bumped into the grooves and slots of the unarguable assumptions of his readers. Particularly will he be bumped into the grooves and slots if the course he attempts to follow is a cross-lots course which takes the current preconceptions at an angle.

The same rule holds for the producers and directors of plays, as the experience of Orson Welles in his present production of "Caesar" at the Mercury Theater indicates. The critics who wrote of that production did themselves proud. But the critics, both formal and informal, insisted on understanding the play in terms of the great contemporary system of ruts and ridges. They insisted that "Caesar" was either pro-fascist or anti-fascist. By which they meant that the opposing forces of the play were ineluctably those forces which are now assumed to divide the world between them: the fascist dictatorships at one end and the dictatorship of the proletariat at the other. That this assumption was entirely gratuitous seems to have occurred to no one. Several of the critics confessed that there were difficulties in the way of fitting the assumption to the facts. If, for example, the play was anti-fascist, who was the fascist: fallen Caesar or victorious Antony? And if the antagonists of the fascists were proletarians, how explain the fact that it was not against the proletariat that the fascists won? No one answered these questions. And the reason no one answered them was that no one could. The assumption was false. "Caesar" as produced at the Mercury is a deeply revolutionary play, but it is not an anti-fascist play in the accepted meaning of that term. It is a play upon a theme much closer to the actualities of the American situation than any such epithet would make it. It is a play of the tragic role of the liberal, the man of character, the man of principle, in a world threatened with fascist destruction.

The hero and victim of the Mercury "Caesar" is Brutus. And Brutus is a figure familiar enough in American ideology if not in American practice. He is the believer in moral law and individual liberty who values free institutions above all other ends. He is the scrupulous patriot who will defend himself only within the law regardless of the lawlessness of his attacker. He can be persuaded by those who play upon his patriotism and his republicanism to commit the patriotic crime of tyrannicide. But he cannot be persuaded to wring the most necessary supplies from the peasants of Sardis, even though the loyalty of his army and the preservation of his life depend upon it. He can be persuaded to rid his country of a potential king as men of character have been persuaded to oppose potential tyrants in other democracies. But he cannot be persuaded to deny to the real enemies of his country the right to speak at Caesar's funeral.

He belongs, that is to say, to the admirable and tragic class of those who will defend liberty by liberty or not at all, who will oppose violence by law or not oppose it, who will overcome deceit by truthfulness or let deceit prevail. He belongs in the courageous and noble company of those to whom liberties of thought and conscience are more valuable than the possession of power; those who will defend the right even of their potential murderers to speak their minds in public. He is great in the sense in which these attributes are great. He is weak in the sense in which these attributes are unworldly. His tragedy is truly tragic because it is the destruction of virtuousness by the logic of its virtue.

And for that reason also the Mercury production is profoundly revolutionary. For if it is true that the ideals of democracy can only defend themselves against violence and fraud by practicing fraud and violence of their own; if it is true that liberty is no defender of liberty—that civil rights are booby traps for their believers—then democracy had best be murdered by its friends rather than preserved for murder by the Mussolinis and the Hitlers who are always there.

Any man is free to refuse the hard logic of that conclusion. I for one refuse it. I believe, for whatever my opinion may be worth, that a free people resists by freedom; that there is no other stable defense for any society; that the reigns of terror in the tyrannies of Europe prove beyond question how suicidal is the attempt to fight force with force and conspiracy with conspiracy; that the remedy in the United States is not less liberty but real liberty —an end to the brutal intolerance of churchly hooligans and flag-waving corporations and all the rest of the small but bloody despots who have made the word Americanism a synonym for coercion and legal crime.

But nevertheless, and whatever one may believe or wish to believe of the world itself, the tragedy of Brutus as played at the Mercury is true tragedy and tragedy which strikes very close to the American nerve. It is not only the most vivid production of Shakespeare seen in New York in this generation. It is not only a greatly conceived and brilliantly executed play which will have a profound effect on the American theater. It is also a tragedy which comes nearer to the fatal currents of our time and place than any other I have seen.

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# BOOKS

## New Europe in the Making

*PLOT AND COUNTER-PLOT IN CENTRAL EUROPE.* By M. W. Fodor. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

*I KNEW HITLER. THE STORY OF A NAZI WHO ESCAPED THE BLOOD-PURGE.* By Kurt G. W. Lüdecke. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.

ONE is not obliged to share the opinion of John Gunther that "the fate of all of us may be decided in some Yugoslav village or Hungarian coffee-shop," as he suggests in his introduction to M. W. Fodor's remarkable post-war history of Central Europe. The murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand was not the reason for the first World War, the fate of the twenty million to be slaughtered was not decided in Sarajevo but in the capitals of the great powers. Another murder, putsch, or "incident" will not be the cause for the next wholesale massacre. King Alexander and Barthou murdered to order from Rome and Budapest, Dollfuss murdered to order from Berlin, fascist intervention in Spain, submarine pirates between Suez and Gibraltar—every day a *casus belli* but no world war as yet. (Never mind the good people who cry from morning to night "Wolf! Wolf!" and go to the alleged battlefields for pleasant vacations.) Fodor shows with knowledge and skill why we are still living in what will be remembered after the outbreak of the next world war as a period of peace. He enables us to look into the Hell's Kitchen of Europe, his volume bursts with exciting incidents, but the great value of his work is just this, that the reader becomes aware of the slow stream of history on which those surface sensations—the stock in trade of journalism and drawing-room conversations—are carried along and away. Fodor does not cherish the journalist's illusion that news makes history.

He starts with masterly sketches of the histories of all the Central European and Balkan states and proceeds to an analysis of forces behind events which in many respects is one of the best yet done. He seems to know every important person from Berlin to Ankara, from Warsaw to Rome. He is a keen and critical observer of their ambitions and intrigues, their material and spiritual backgrounds. It is a very complicated world in which he has lived and studied for a generation; he reports it with the insight of an objective, scientific, but by no means aloof mind, with the decency of an unsentimental humanitarian, and with a born journalist's sense for contrasts, for tragedy and comic relief. He describes the "isms" in Central and Southeastern Europe, the rise of the agrarian population so often overlooked, the decay of feudalism, the movements of the left, the birth of fascism and National Socialism. Fact is added to fact, idea to idea, and gradually the whole economic and political structure from the North Sea to the Mediterranean rises before the reader's eyes.

I should not like to miss one of Fodor's chapters but some deserve special praise. Fascism Organizes Civil Strife in Vienna is an exact report of the bloody February days. Dollfuss was at least on the way to a compromise with the conservative Socialist leaders when Suvich arrived (at that time he was Mussolini's Foreign Secretary; today he serves as Italy's ambassador in Washington) and in his master's voice insisted on the ruthless suppression of the most efficient social workers in the world. In Schacht's Journey Through the Balkans Fodor demonstrates how the economic wizard, only a new name for a very old character, made a system of three simple principles: "first, that the debtor and not the creditor dictates the terms if he knows how to do it; second, that if one lacks gold, purchases must be effected in countries which accept payment in kind; and third, one pays, if possible, with armaments because this makes the purchaser countries dependent politically on the land which supplies the arms." This chapter is a masterpiece of understandable economic reporting. That on the Italian Hamlet sketches the contours of a new Mussolini who has little in common with the iron-fisted cliché we have to swallow with every morning and afternoon paper. Of the closing chapters, A New Specter Looms on the Horizon discusses the possibility of a reconciliation between Hitler and Stalin; Anschluss or Danubia presents the alternative which confronts the central and southeastern European states. Either they allow Hitler to conquer Austria and submit to his whip or they cooperate to correct the stupidities of the peace treaties.

It is significant that what emerges from Fodor's book is the picture of a new Europe in the making rather than of a dying, suicidal Europe. These plots and counter-plots seem to be the action and pains of rebirth. The antagonism, fascism versus democracy, is not decisive, since both are only different political forms and methods of the same economic order. The Rome-Berlin axis has no stronger basis than the identical wish of both dictators to sell each other out. Whether Russia remains Germany's arch-enemy depends on the concessions the majority shareholders, France and England, are ready to make to the minority or "have-nots." Objectively Europe is only in the beginning of reorganization and rationalization after the failure of Versailles. Everybody recognizes the problem, but as the late John G. Hamilton, to whom Fodor dedicates his rich harvest, said to his pupil: "Fodor, never forget that the world is not dominated by brains. Keep in mind that politicians are almost always idiots, and you cannot go wrong. . . ." And this may as well lead us to a second exciting book, which gives from a quite different angle another view of the same Europe in the making. Its hero is Adolf Hitler.

Kurt G. W. Lüdecke, author of "I Knew Hitler," is an old member of the Nazi Party. Fodor will excuse me for bringing them together, for the things which a globe-trotting, polyglot storm trooper in tailormade clothes has to tell would interest him also. I read Lüdecke's 800 pages in one stretch. Here is a fascinating human document, the first important autobiography of an active Nazi, who was an intimate of the unknown fanatic of 1922, friend of the defeated putschist, adviser of the dictator *ante portas,* and finally close to Hitler the statesman. The relationship takes a typical Hitler course: a confused adventurer becomes a devoted admirer and follower of Hitler, who sends him as his first personal ambassador to Mussolini and to the United States to get money from the Italian renegade Socialist and from Ford. Lüdecke becomes the representative of the Nazi press in Washington, secretly helped by Dr. Kurt Sell, then posing as a democrat, and returns to Germany when Hitler surprisingly comes to power in his "legal" fashion, which means the end of many dreams for the Nazi rank and file. Lüdecke soon lands in one of the freedom-loving dictator's concentration camps, for no other reason, it seems, than annoying his hero with too much eagerness. He escapes with the aid of the notorious Röhm, who was able to save Lüdecke

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# Propaganda Analysis

*A Monthly Letter to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda*

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.
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but not himself from the blood purge of June 30, 1934.

It is not the personal history of the author which makes his book outstanding in the literature of German refugees. It is the detailed account of Nazism on the way to power, how it was defeated through lack of courage on the part of its supreme leader, and how in the very moment of its defeat Hitler got Germany as a present from a corrupted feudal-bourgeois clique. In return Hitler threw overboard whatever revolutionary ballast his party had. Against this background the whole inner Nazi circle of the time comes alive, and above all Adolf Hitler as a private person and as leader of the party.

Heiden and Olden, Hitler's left biographers, did not know him personally. Lüdecke has the advantage of intimate knowledge. He still seems not to have outgrown his affection for Hitler, and he nowhere repudiates the Nazi program, including the race theories and the Nordic cult. But to be a good photographer one does not need to be a thinker. There are candid camera shots of Hitler the politician, the dreamer, the liar, the comedian, which are priceless. And Lüdecke's ear records like a gramophone disk. The American reader will not be able to get the smell of certain Hitler words which are given in the original Austrian German. Untranslatable this: "Fetzen Sie aus Mussolini heraus, was Sie können!" (Rip out of Mussolini whatever you can), Hitler's last words before Lüdecke's departure for Milan. The Berlinese Lüdecke could never have made up this phrase. Hundreds of such episodes tell more about Hitler than long monographs. There is a vivid account of an automobile journey from Munich to Potsdam. There is a long discussion of the decisive question: Why not work together with a more and more nationalistic Russia which might liquidate the Third International? Included are many conversations with Röhm, Strasser, Rosenberg, Goebbels, Göring, Amann, the closest circle around Hitler (special mention for the picture of Putzi Hanfstängl, the clown), and accounts of visits to Mussolini and Gömbös. It is a large canvas, and I am convinced, after checking many details and listening carefully to the diction, which always reveals things a writer wants to hide, a fair picture. We get a deep insight into the fantastic part the German nation is pressed to play in Europe's great struggle—obscured by a thousand daily events—to achieve a modern organization. Whoever tries to understand the European Civil War should read Lüdecke's book.

As to the author: in his preface he expresses the hope that his new self, here beginning, will be better than his former self. Let us hope so, too. But he has much to learn. He must break with the ideology of the confused, half-educated, inhibited, ruthless rowdy who burns the Reichstag, tortures helpless prisoners, murders his friends, and has agreeable conversations with the English.

FRANZ HÖLLERING

# Memoirs of a Diplomat

*THE MEMOIRS OF SIR RONALD STORRS.* G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.

THIS is a book of intense interest for a limited number of people. It is wholly superior to the reminiscences of most diplomats and is unique in the recent barrage of British memoirs. It is distinguished by its frankness, by seductive wit, by some remarkably clear writing on the Arab-Jewish question, and by the side light it throws on T. E. Lawrence.

In "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom" Lawrence gives us his estimate of Storrs when he first describes Clayton's Arab Bureau. "The first of us was Ronald Storrs, Oriental secretary of the residency, the most brilliant Englishman in the Near East, and subtly efficient, despite his diversion of energy in love of music and letters, of sculpture, of painting, whatever was beautiful in the world's fruit. None the less, Storrs sowed what we reaped, and was always first, and the great man among us." This quotation the publishers have used as a blurb on his book and rightly. But Lawrence continued the paragraph: "His shadow would have covered our work and British policy in the East like a cloak, had he been able to deny himself the world, and to prepare his mind and body with the sternness of an athlete for a great fight."

Here one perhaps detects a trace of that ever so slightly censorious snobbishness, that political or moral priggishness, which is a less attractive side of Lawrence's greatness. What did Lawrence mean by "a cloak"? He may really have meant that Storrs was one of those devastatingly urbane, human, and civilized masters whose personal manners and morals become a fine art in dealing with servants and colonials, and who is continually seduced from some overwhelming purpose—Arab or British Empire or another ideal—by those isolated but creative impulses which do not directly affect the life and death of armies. It is hard to be friendly to English diplomacy today when writing strong letters to the *Times* is the apotheosis of its temporizing over Spain and Ethiopia, and perhaps Anthony Eden also reclines in moments of stress on fragrant fragments from his Ovid, his Henry James, or his Gerard de Nerval. If he does he merely shares the distinguished education of a ranking British diplomat. But in Ronald Storrs's great culture one feels no speciousness nor any escape. Americans are rendered provincial not by the lack of a vast body of such reference as his but only by their awe of it. Storrs presupposed familiarity with the treasure houses of the world's culture as a personal as well as a national spiritual property. Perhaps that is one facet of imperial politics. Nevertheless, Lawrence considered that this soft, luxurious enjoyment prevented him from being—what? Prime Minister? Foreign Secretary? There is no trace of envy in Storrs's book. As military governor of Palestine, as the governor of Cyprus, both during difficult days, he fulfilled supremely well the functions of a servant of his country. As such a servant he had the obligations and perhaps the ultimate lack of responsibility to Downing Street that Lawrence could never easily tolerate. Storrs was more modest. He never counted the world well lost as Lawrence in his confusion and brilliance continued to do, not because he was less proud but because he had a more equable temperamental balance.

The last photograph of Storrs in his stars and orders, with the Cross of Malta blazoned on his cape, as well as the one taken with King Husain, seems the type portrait of a British diplomat, just as Shelley, Gerard Hopkins, or Stephen Spender share the typical British poet's face, the same recurrent in every generation. But under it all, revealed in Storrs's writing, is a very remarkable and lovable man; he would have enriched the life of anyone who worked for him or with him, and it is impossible to read about him without feeling for him some of the sentiment he felt for Kitchener, Gorst, Allenby, Henry Cust, and T. E. Lawrence. Storrs's most profound experiences, as well as the final residuum of his wisdom, are those of the creative artist. These he permitted himself with real, humble, but never a modest abandon. The lack of strength to allow these activities liberal play killed his greatest colleague.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

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# Their Faces

*YOU HAVE SEEN THEIR FACES.* By Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White. Viking Press. $5.

FOR various reasons the Southern tenant farmer has emerged within recent years as the very symbol of exploitation in a country where the mechanism of capitalist relationships tends to be obscured by complex psychological and historic factors—his degradation is so abject and its causes so clearly lie in "the system." The tale of his rather sudden emergence as a national figure is full of ironies; but the most striking is the one whereby the liberal Roosevelt Administration in attempting to aid agriculture, though it helped the farmer as capitalist, drove a wedge between the owning and the non-owning farmer, worsened the plight of the latter, and has pretty much proved that nothing short of a socialist solution can assure anything like a decent standard of living for the farmer, as farmer, who most needs help. The crop-reduction benefits of the AAA, acting as catalyst, speeded up the transition of the share-cropper into day laborer, causing mass evictions that got into all the papers and resulted in such widely divergent events as the AAA purge and this book. The organizing work of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the Share-Croppers' Union—which Mr. Caldwell through some curious reticence forbears to mention by name—was, again, encouraged by the presence of a liberal Administration in Washington; but it intensified the clash between owners and non-owners and led to a terroristic regime by the landlords (who are in their turn victims) that aroused wide interest and a demand for legislation. So far the legislation proposed has been of the "forty acres and a mule" variety, when only some form of cooperative farming can lead to a rehabilitation of the people and the soil of the sick South, both of which have been badly eroded by generations of abuse.

Mr. Caldwell himself has contributed before now to the advertisement of the Southern tenant farmer. "Tobacco Road" was dramatized in 1933; and for four years Broadway audiences have not known whether to laugh or to cringe at its picture of a submarginal folk in a submarginal landscape. Many have laughed in spite of themselves—which only goes to show that humor, particularly folk humor, is not a simple compound and that it may have a very bitter taste. Note such lines in this book as that describing the little bait-seller, who has "caught so many crickets she's got so she sits like one." "You Have Seen Their Faces" may be regarded in one sense as the student's documentation of the artist's perceptions in "Tobacco Road."

Mr. Caldwell advocates an authoritative investigation by a government commission of tenant farming in the cotton country. But the report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy left no doubt of the low state of the tenant farmer—the problem is to force adequate legislation on the basis of known facts. This serious and simple account should at least advance the humanitarian argument for a solution of the problems of the South, neglected step-child of the North, which has now become so sick from its old infections of prejudice and poverty that it is a menace to the health of the nation. Many will see these faces; and the beautiful photographs by Miss Bourke-White are not so beautiful that the reader will miss the tragedy of worn-out faces and depleted soil—their texture, under the lens, is amazingly similar—or find more pleasure than pain in the lines and surfaces that make a woman share-cropper's face a triumph of photographic art.

MARGARET MARSHALL



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# What We Do to Our Athletes

*FIFTEEN-THIRTY. THE STORY OF A TENNIS PLAYER.* By Helen Wills. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

THE football season is dying in an obscene orgy of Rose Bowls, Sugar Bowls, Cotton Bowls, and other bowls, but I make no apologies for commenting upon a volume about tennis because it is an important book—in another sense, one suspects, than either the author or the publisher intended. Briefly, here is the story of what America—or rather the United States—does to its celebrities. The story is related by word and picture, from the photograph of the charmingly unaffected girl in pigtails winning her first junior title to the manicured, mascaraed, and marcelled Hollywood beauty who adorns the frontispiece.

There is generosity in these pages. Miss Wills, as she prefers to be called when engaged in pursuit of one of the arts, is generous to the press, who have not always been generous to her, and extremely generous to her adversaries. She states that there is no hard feeling between Miss Jacobs and herself, and I for one choose to believe her when she intimates that this fiction was an invention of the newspaper sports writers. The book is also modest, at times so damned modest as to be nauseating. Miss Wills never considers that her vanquished opponents played their best, finds that she is lucky to be champion, and time after time discovers with astonishment that she is on the winning side. Of the tremendous courage which pulled her to victory against the best players of her sex for ten years one gets slight impression.

However, as the story builds up from junior champion to national champion, from Berkeley to New York and then from Berkeley to London, Paris, Berlin, and the Riviera, one does get an impression of the ceaseless grind of the competitive system in athletics. Nor is it necessary to read between the lines to see what the system does to its followers. Miss Wills is at pains to explain that tennis is a diversion and not a career, and then within three months of her marriage is charging off on the round which leads to Roland Garros and thence to Wimbledon and after that to Forest Hills. She enjoys explaining how much she loves the game and what fun it all is. Precisely, when one wins. But even her static style cannot conceal the fact that there is little fun in losing. So the champion takes good care not to lose, and after a few years of taking care comes the inevitable toughening process which makes people call her hard-boiled.

If you wish to win, and once you become a champion you wish to win very much indeed, you can't afford to waste time being a nice guy. You've got to know your way round town. You've got to be smart. Miss Wills is smart. In fact, the editor of a famous weekly told me years ago that of all the women in various walks of life with whom he had dealt, Miss Wills was the keenest business trader. These pages betray that strain—the whole cloaked with an air of attractive dumbness. As she puts it; "If you are totally helpless, everything seems to be done at once."

The system can so enmesh a human being that champions fool themselves. They really believe their newspaper articles on Paris fashions, mountaineering in Switzerland, and other inconsequential subjects are bought because they are writers and not because of their name. They imagine their paintings are exhibited on New Bond Street because they are artists. Nor is this hard to understand. When an art critic like Frank Rutter of the London *Times* devotes a column seri-


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ously to exploring her efforts, one is inclined to ask whether there is any artistic integrity left. The champion managed to become so convinced of her ability that she was able to exchange an original Helen Wills for a painting of a famous French modernist without gagging.

Read this book. As a sidelight on civilization today it is valuable. Besides showing plainly what we do to our celebrities, it also explains where the fault lies. Not obviously with Miss Wills, nor yet with the game of tennis, nor even with the overlords who run it to the best of their sincere if fumbling abilities; but with you and me and all the rest of us who insist on pretending that this sort of thing is amateur sport, and are quite willing to allow our champions to pay the price as long as they will continue to exhibit their wares for us at so much a throw.

JOHN R. TUNIS

# DRAMA

## Flaubert Turns in His Grave

THE dramatic version of "Madame Bovary" (Broadhurst Theater) has considerable charm. To say that is to pay both the piece and the performance a genuine compliment, but it is also to indicate how far everyone concerned has wandered from the extraordinary novel which furnishes the point of departure. I doubt if anyone was ever so misguided as to call Flaubert "charming," for if it were necessary to choose, after his own fashion, a single *mot juste* which would describe everything he strove to avoid, that single word could certainly be none other than "charm." Probably Gaston Baty, who made the original French adaptation, did what he did deliberately; probably he felt that the icy and inclusive contempt of Flaubert would be intolerable on the stage. But in any event he has put everything through a transformation so complete that two works which included the same characters and some of the same incidents could hardly be more different.

It is not merely that he has made Emma Bovary a sympathetic character, a charming woman whose degradation is the result of an understandable lust for some happiness in life. All the characters are redrawn so completely that, for example, even such a depressing bore as the "enlightened" pharmacist (admirably played by Ernest Cossart) becomes a jolly rascal straight out of the pages of Dickens; and what is even more remarkable, the whole background of old-fashioned provincial life is rendered in terms of the agreeably picturesque. Flaubert undertook to demonstrate that at least ninety-nine out of a hundred human beings are incapable not only of success in life but of failing with dignity or even of suffering in ways other than mean. The society he describes is a society which has been created because it provides the most suitable possible environment for a race of creatures fundamentally incapable of ever being anything but dull and so constituted that if, by any chance, they rebel, they are doomed only to exchange one kind of vulgarity for another. Yet it is this society which reappears in M. Baty's dramatization as neither more nor less than agreeably quaint.

If it could be considered as an independent work, the dramatized "Madame Bovary" would probably be found to



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have not only charm but considerable power as well—even though it suffered, as nearly all episodic plays do, from the difficulty our imagination meets in attempting to fill in as many gaps as it is asked to fill. The fact remains, however, that one finds it nearly impossible actually to consider the play as an independent work. "Madame Bovary" happens to be a novel which a great many people have read and which few readers have ever been able to forget. Perhaps it is not as supremely great as is often assumed; perhaps there is a fundamental inconsistency implied in so careful an examination of a group of people who are, by premise, not worth examining. But it is an almost unforgettable one, and I found, as many other spectators must have found, that the memory of its tone haunted my imagination no matter how hard I might try to concern myself exclusively with the new Emma of the play. And that of course is fatal. The comparison is interesting; it results, even, in considerable admiration for an author who could reinterpret characters and events as consistently as they are here reinterpreted. But no work of art is fully successful if it does not lead one to forget, momentarily at least, all others, and that "Madame Bovary" does not succeed in doing. Different as it is from Flaubert's novel it is not quite different enough.

As Emma Miss Constance Cummings undertakes and carries off the most ambitious role she has ever played in New York. It must be a very long one; it carries the weight of the play; and it requires a great variety of mood as Emma passes by slow stages from the eager anticipation of her wedding night to the sordid despair of her suicide. Miss Cummings has conceived the role boldly and put the emphasis upon those scenes which are the most difficult as well as the strongest, with the result that nothing is shirked and that her virtues and her defects are plainly exhibited. That in itself is something rare enough to deserve praise, and on the whole she comes through the ordeal impressively. When she fails, it is through trying to do too much, and I suspect that the performance would be even better than it is if she would eliminate or tone down some of the "best" moments. One has, for instance, a temptation to say that the bit of business when she licks the poison off her fingers is good, and that means, of course, that it really isn't so very good, for the simple reason that one remembers it too easily as "a piece of business."

"Father Malachy's Miracle" (St. James Theater) is also a dramatization—this time from a recent novel by Bruce Marshall. The story concerns an innocent monk who, somewhat to his own surprise, succeeds in performing a spectacular miracle in Edinburgh and then discovers that he has got himself into a good deal of trouble, not only with the owners of a dance hall which he has moved some twenty miles through the air, but also with Rome, where the tendency is to hold that infidels may be converted equally well by methods involving less undesirable publicity. Such ingenious anecdotes as this usually make rather thin plays, but "Father Malachy's Miracle" is a good deal better than most, partly because of the ingenuity and dramatic effectiveness with which the incident is worked out, partly because of the humorous shrewdness of the characterization. Al Shean—he who was once of Gallagher and Shean—is extremely good as the monk, and though the play moves a bit slowly it provides an amusing evening for anyone. All but the most tender-minded of Roman Catholics will also regard it as a witty statement of their case.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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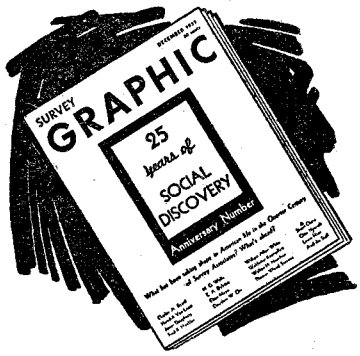


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# FILMS

## After Pirandello

THE tensions set up by Pirandello in any play he writes are bound to be either tightened or relaxed in a film which aims at reproducing the effect. The technique of the cinema permits expansion, yet it also, if less often, achieves contraction. "Late Mathias Pascal" (Cinéma de Paris) has, I should say, relaxed its original. The theme, as regularly with Pirandello, has to do with the mysteries of identity in a modern world calculated on the whole to destroy or at any rate to retrace with invisible ink the records of our individual existence. The individual in the present case, Mathias Pascal, returns from a brief absence to his dreadful wife and still more dreadful mother-in-law only to discover that he is believed dead and is even now being buried. Watching his funeral from behind a neighboring tombstone, he resolves to accept the liberty thus bestowed upon him. He goes to Rome as Adrian Meis, takes a room in a boarding-house, and falls in love with the proprietor's daughter. But he has no identification papers, he gets no mail, and he is unwilling to talk about his past; so that his rival for Louise's hand has little difficulty in scaring him away with talk of the police. Mathias returns once more to his family, disturbs them by his presence until they make it clear that they wish never to see him again, and solves the riddle of existence by illegally securing a new set of identification papers which bear the name Adrian Meis. Then he can return to Rome, knock his rival down a flight of steps, and marry Louise.

Pierre Chenal, the director of "Late Mathias Pascal," has deliberately scattered his original. I say deliberately because M. Chenal, who also directed "Crime et Châtiment," is beyond question an artist who knows what he is doing. His conscious desire in this case must have been to let air and sunlight into his story, to leave it somehow better-natured than it was. He has done so in the first place as any director might do it, by distributing intercalary scenes which show all the steps in the narrative as they are taken—the hero on a train, the hero lugging his suitcase through a park, and so on. But in the second place he has proceeded with subtlety to throw over the whole affair a very pleasant mantle of homely absurdity. His people, his story, and his manner of manipulating them are alike in that they seem in some attractive way old-fashioned, in some artful way awkward. He has taken down Pirandello's famous intensity several dozen pegs, but he has wanted to do this for the sake of another effect; and because, no doubt, he couldn't quite believe that Pirandello was as profound as he seemed. He has been at once critical and affectionate toward his material, moving in without apology and making himself charmingly at home among the episodes. The result is original and delightful beyond most films of France or of any other country.

M. Chenal had in Pierre Blanchar, who once was Raskalnikov, a first-rate actor for the leading role, and one furthermore who could relax with him. He had in addition Catherine Fonteney, who as the mother-in-law recalls her triumph as the mother of Poil de Carotte. And he has photographed in Le Vigan, Mathias's rival, one of the most offensive small villains I have ever watched smile. But he had above all his own art.

MARK VAN DOREN



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# Letters to the Editors

## Concerning Edmund Wilson

*Dear Sirs:* Can't something be done about Edmund Wilson? "Axel's Castle" a few years ago was a promising book of criticism and certainly entitled its author to a further hearing from serious-minded *Nation* readers; but don't you think his recent articles, particularly Escape from Propaganda in your issue of November 13, are rather taxing our patience?

The Soviet Union celebrates its twentieth anniversary, completes its second Five-Year Plan, formulates the most democratic constitution the world has known, develops a peace policy that is helping to save humanity from another world war—and Edmund Wilson can only say that it is going farther toward fascism. Fascist Italy celebrates this anniversary by formally joining the Berlin-Tokyo anti-Communist bloc; but on fascist aggression in Spain or China Edmund Wilson has neither written nor acted. While Hemingway, Cowley, and a thousand other writers are doing everything possible to support the Spanish and Chinese peoples' fight for democracy, Edmund Wilson stays home and sees fascism in the Soviet Union.

For this view he does not depend on those standard authorities of his, Fred Beal or Eugene Lyons, who have been published by such true friends of the revolution as the New York *American,* the *American Mercury,* and *Coronet.* Not even Victor Serge, a professional Trotskyist, goes that far. No, it is left for Edmund Wilson to conjure up that opinion out of his own fertile mind. He dismisses Lion Feuchtwanger's favorable account of the Soviet Union with, "It is curious that this professional novelist should include in his entire account scarcely a single piece of direct observation." As if Feuchtwanger's interview with Stalin, his attendance at the Moscow trials, his conversations with shock-workers, peasants, and intellectuals, his visits to collective farms, factories, and theaters were all accomplished with the aid of mirrors!

Or what can we say of an Edmund Wilson who concludes that the Radek-Piatakov trial was a frame-up because Feuchtwanger saw Radek smile in court, or who quotes Fred Beal about the visiting radical writers who drink vodka, worship Stalin, and hope "to write a best-seller or popular play about the coming revolution and settle down on a farm in Pennsylvania"? We can't take this stuff seriously. In the face of certain definite and incontrovertible achievements you've got to be pretty good to slander the Soviet Union convincingly. Lots of abler men, like Leon Trotsky and William Randolph Hearst, have been trying for a good many years without getting to first base. To convince us, Edmund Wilson will have to do a lot better than trot out the old nags—the second-hand rumors about G.P.U. torture chambers, famines in the Ukraine, and all the rest.

GABRIEL H. LEVENSON

New Haven, Conn., November 18

*Dear Sirs:* The present cult for discrediting the U. S. S. R., for example, Edmund Wilson's article, Russia: Escape from Propaganda, is based chiefly on testimony supplied by renegades from communism.

The motives of individuals furthering this cult are of course difficult to determine precisely. Certainly, as Marx advised, we do not judge individuals by their own consciousness of their acts. And that goes for Edmund Wilson. If we want to avoid error, we must assimilate Wilson's attitude to the class interest which it serves. From this point of view we cannot ultimately distinguish his attitude from that of the capitalist encirclement. His words, the now fashionable cant of serving the revolution, are different. His meanings in a materialist world are the same as Lippmann's.

In this connection I am very sorry indeed to notice that *The Nation* makes the clearest confession of a Cassandra attitude by selecting reviewers of books on the U. S. S. R. whose interpretations can be safely counted on in advance to be nagging and destructive.

WINSLOW WILSON

New York, November 21

## "American" Goods from Japan

*Dear Sirs:* The reciprocity treaty between the United States and Cuba established a preferential on American products that greatly stimulated the purchase of American textiles by Cuba. Since then Japan, through a few American exporters, has shipped huge quantities of undyed fabrics to the United States, had these fabrics dyed or bleached in the United States, and subsequently shipped them to Cuba as of American manufacture. This fraud, with definite loss to American labor, reached such proportions a few months ago that the Cuban government issued a customs decree to the effect that Cuba would consider only such fabrics American as were woven in the United States. The State Department in Washington, for incomprehensible reasons, has sent a memorandum to Cuba indicating that this interpretation is not acceptable to it.

Should Cuba accede to Washington's request, practically all Cuba's importations of so-called American textiles will consist of goods manufactured in Japan and shipped to Cuba through the United States under highly questionable "drawback" privileges, the legality of which is now being disputed in several courts in the United States. The State Department's effort to have Cuba withdraw the customs decree can only further curtail work in the American textile industry and perpetuate the fraud of Japanese-manufactured goods entering Cuba as American. Decidedly, protests should be sent to the State Department.

WILLIAM ROBINSON

Havana, Cuba, November 12

## Against a Boycott

*Dear Sirs:* With respect to your editorial The Case for the Boycott, in your issue of November 6, it seems to me that most of the nine objections which you answer with such finality allow for long study and remain moot questions.

To question 3, "What about the dealers who have Japanese goods on hand?" you answer that fortunately the stocks are small. Not only would I differ with you by saying that stocks are at least normal, but I want to add as one who knows that the stocks are the largest they have ever been.

To question 4, "What of the sharecroppers? Will the boycott not injure them?" you reply, "Temporarily, possibly; in the long run no." There is no question that "temporarily" they will be hurt and hurt hard—definitely, not possibly. As to "in the long run," all you should say is "possibly not," for your whole explanation is merely a surmise. It may take twenty years or more before cotton can be produced in North China.

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It would take up too much space to disprove the other seven answers, but any intelligent high-school graduate could annihilate them convincingly and factually.

The boycott is too complicated to be undertaken without serious deliberation. Suppose Japan accomplishes its conquest and military hostilities cease, do you propose to continue boycott propaganda? Do you suppose that you could permanently stop the use of silk, or the importation of camphor and similar commodities? If you have in mind to make the boycott a temporary expression of disapproval, you will have generated too much hate for the damage to be undone quickly after hostilities cease. Indulging in a major economic disturbance merely to register a protest is an expensive adventure these days. HARRY ORTNER

Brooklyn, November 22

## A Contented Redcap

*Dear Sirs:* In his article The End of a Redcap, published in *The Nation* of November 6, Cecil Hazell claims to have worked as a redcap "in one of the big railway terminals in an Eastern city." He paints a most gruesome picture. According to him, there were doctors, lawyers, preachers, convicts, crooks, and confidence men among the 400 redcaps employed; men with murmuring hearts, swollen ankles, and abdominal ruptures slaving under Negro officers who upheld the traditions of their overseer ancestors. He says he paid graft to get the job, that he saw station detectives receive protection money, that he saw redcaps forced to pay a second time for uniforms for which they held receipts, that the toilets and locker rooms were a menace to health. The only good feature of the job, he says, was the big money which was there for the taking. He himself made $14 on the first day!

It happens that I myself have been a redcap at the Pennsylvania Station for the last four years. There are nearly four hundred of us, some students, but no doctor or lawyer would discard his place in a lucrative and respected profession in order to become a humble bag-carrier, a man without even the right to bargain for pay. I have no hernia, no heart trouble, nothing whatever to slow me up, and from observation and comparison I am in a position to say that a redcap's daily earnings range between $2 and $2.50.

In contrast to the rotund and smirking protector of the cabal of grafters conjured up by Mr. Hazell, we have for our station-master a man who has earned the respect of everyone by his fearless sense of justice, a man with whom suggestions for the betterment of the service are always in order. From the ranks of the despicable group which Mr. Hazell portrays emerged our senior captain, a man who served during the World War and was awarded the Croix de Guerre. Another of our captains settles all disputes and breaches of discipline, and with the utmost fairness. Another captain went on a vacation the other day, and the fellows gave him a traveling bag as a token of admiration —or was it a mere ironical gesture?

I cannot forget the day when, after receiving my application blank, I tried to press some money upon the head of our department, only to have it gently but firmly put back into my palm. "I don't take money for these jobs, son," he remarked quietly. "That would be like hitting a man when he is down."

No crook, convict, or confidence man has a chance to be among our four hundred redcaps, for each of us is bonded in the sum of $500 and the surety companies are most thorough in their investigation of an applicant, who must produce references covering ten years of previous employment. We have no "stench-ridden, windowless cavern," such as Mr. Hazell describes, but sanitary locker rooms, toilets, and showers, kept immaculate by paid attendants.

So much more might have been accomplished by Mr. Hazell if he had enlisted his readers' interest in the following problems: (1) Why is a redcap not an employee? (2) Why does he receive no salary? (3) Who pays him when he rushes with a wheelchair to a sick passenger who is penniless? But if Mr. Hazell contemplates writing other articles on the redcap, I wish he would first investigate our organization, of which we are justly proud.

ALAN MCFEETERS, Redcap 373

New York, November 18

## Socialism or Labor Control?

*Dear Sirs:* Permit me to express some surprise at your editorial paragraph on the new coal bill in England in your issue of November 20. You state at the beginning that it is a step in the direction of socialism. You close with the following: "If state ownership of the royalty rights can restore vigor and order in this anarchistic industry, it will be a genuine triumph." Yet you fail even to mention the implications of the new policy for British labor. When the state enters the control of an industry, the nature of that state should certainly affect the conclusions drawn. You will agree, I am sure, that the present government of Great Britain comes very close to being what Strachey so aptly called the "executive committee of the ruling class." So far as I know, there is no provision in the proposed bill for union representation on the board of control; if there is, it has been well hidden. Given that omission, do you not think that the "national interest" may be used to cover wage cuts and the like? The record of the last few Cabinets leads me to suppose such an outcome more than possible.

SIDNEY L. JACKSON

Mt. Vernon, N. Y., November 20

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*Correction.*—An article in last week's issue, What Next in France? by M. E. Ravage, was erroneously attributed to Robert Dell in the table of contents.

*INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS*

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